

WE WON'T GO CONFERENCE

By Florence Howe

One year ago students on campuses all over the United States were debating the morality of a C. O. position. The conscientious objector was often lumped with the so-called "draft-dodger" and both were labeled unpatriotic and often cowardly as well. This week on the University of Chicago campus five hundred people gathered at a WE WON'T GO Conference to consider with equanimity and with no aspersions of guilt, no lack of moral conviction or social concern, a draft resistance movement. The change of emphasis among the young men most affected by the draft and the war in Vietnam is significant: from a position of "I won't go," they are moving to the solidarity of WE WON'T GO.

The WE WON'T GO Conference was called by thirty-two students at the University of Chicago who have announced publicly (in the Chicago Maroon) that they won't go to Vietnam. In part, the conference was called as a response to an official University of Chicago Conference on the Draft, a four-day affair, supported by Ford Foundation funds (\$20,000), and held at the Center for Continuing Education on the Midway. Both conferences, further, are an outcome of the sit-ins on the question of ranking at the U. of C. last year, in that they are responses to students' demand that the university concern itself with questions of selective service.

The Official Conference has been long in the making: one hundred and twenty-five experts, including "selected" students, were invited in three categories and at a cost of sixty dollars each to them or to their supporting organizations. Some were asked to write papers, some to come as "participants," some as "observers." All sessions of the four-day conference except the final one on Wednesday, December 7, were to be closed to the public. The final session, at the Palmer House, was to be open to those who would pay \$2.25 at the door to hear three or four experts summarize the proceedings of the past four days.

In contrast, the WE WON'T GO Conference was organized in two weeks and not by any existing student group on the University of Chicago campus, but by the newly-formed thirty-two. They were able, in two weeks, to gather a roster of distinguished speakers and a local and national audience of five

hundred, mostly students. There was no admission charge. The one day conference was divided into four sessions: two in the afternoon for speakers; two in the evening for workshops and a general discussion session. Given the attendance, the participation, and the atmosphere of the conference, the success of WE WON'T GO is obvious. What is not so obvious is that, like the sit-in and the teach-in, the WE WON'T GO Conference may be the spark needed to light the new draft resistance movement.

The Conference

Tom Gushurst, Chairman of the afternoon sessions, and one of the thirty-two WE WON'T GO men, opened the conference by raising the spectre of imprisonment for violators of selective service law. He cited the 1,770 convictions by the Justice Department since 1960, and added calmly: "This conference is about those who would not, and will not go. There are many ways to not go. Today we will consider some of these on the admittedly biased assumption that those who will not go are completely justified. I know that you will listen, knowing that the questions, dilemmas, and frustrations that will concern us today are not something which is of greatest concern to scholars and politicians, but something of most concern to the young men who are tired of marching down Fifth Avenue, men tired of hearing the President say, 'Forgive them for they know not what they do.'"

Thus the tone was set: it was personal yet social, a response to the draft that emphasized its immediate reality for those young men being called to combat. The chairman also asked, "Is this an anti-war conference or an anti-draft conference? It's both - we wouldn't be here today if it weren't for the Vietnam war, and it's anti-draft be-

cause it is through the draft that the war meets the citizen." The eight speakers who followed accomplished, in different ways, one goal: to set the response of WE WON'T GO in historical, social, and personal contexts so that people are able to see it as a moral and a socially meaningful way of acting. So that, for one thing, they needn't feel guilty about it; and for another - even more important - they might feel increasingly relevant, strong, and socially useful about it.

The opening speaker, Staughton Lynd, historian on leave from Yale University, offered first, several American precedents for draft resisters: Thoreau, Charles Sumner, and Eugene Debs.

French Resistance

Most striking, however, was his report of an analogy: the French resistance movement to the Algerian war. The French writer quoted by Professor Lynd described the four stages of the movement. At first people were counselled to go into the army and to work against it from within. The group who tried this reported a deep sense of frustration and powerlessness. They were caught by an immovable system that could easily swallow them. In the second stage, a group of thirty men decided to go to jail rather than go into the army. In the words of the manuscript, their action had "no echo." This time prison had swallowed them, and silence met their action.

The third stage was described in the manuscript as "insubordination at home and desertion abroad." Those in the army were encouraged to desert. Those at home were not to go to jail, not to leave the country, and not to enter the army, but rather to

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new left notes

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chicago, ill. 60612

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more NEW POLITICS

by Paul Booth & Richard Flacks
- Hyde Park CDS.

New politics movements are currently absorbing much of the criticism that was directed recently at SDS and other campus New Left elements. This criticism is aimed at independent political stirrings in California, Alabama, and elsewhere by supporters of coalition politics in the Democratic Party. The issues are not simple, but deserve full airing.

In the January-February DISSENT, for example, Tom Kahn, executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy, puts forward the hypothesis that the "anti-coalitionists" have "assisted a resurgence of conservatism." In New Left Notes early in November, Steve Max, an SDSer who played a major role in that organization's Political Education Project which conducted a "Part of the Way with LBJ" campaign in the '64 elections, says that "the new left has gone down on issue after issue with those who should be its major opponents."

In particular, the events which have raised the liberals and social-democrats have been the "black power" development in Lowndes County, Alabama, the emergence of the California Coordinating Committee for New Politics and its boycott of the Brown-Reagan election, the efforts of the Committee for Independent Political Action on the West Side of Manhattan in the same Congressional District where anti-war Reform Democrat Ted Weiss fought a nip-and-tuck primary battle for the congressional nomination, and a number of other instances. But they see these particulars as connected to a long train of new-left attitudes, including the absence of new-left forces from the battles around Taft-Hartley repeal and the minimum wage, and the new-left schools of thought that say "things can't get any worse" and that "the worse things are, the better for the new left." (Max)

Actually, the critics tend to overstate the case; one example is the reference to Reagan

as "a fascist". The November elections certainly were a defeat for the liberal leadership, with the defeat of Douglas, Peabody, Brown, and other liberal leaders, reducing the Democratic Party to the position where it is in desperately short supply of shining liberal lights. But we do not believe the case can be made that they represented a triumph of backlash. In most cases the GOP winners were decidedly moderate. Blame for conservative gains belongs in a large measure with the Vietnam war, which shifts the whole political spectrum toward the right-wing and toward militarism, and legitimizes "hawkish" styles every time the President gets on TV and tells the GIs to "bring home the coonskin". And blame belongs in large measure with the disgraceful default of the liberal leadership, its failure to develop program that will appeal to voters. Ordinary Americans sense the presence of crisis in the Cold War and in the ghetto, and turn to leaders for answers. It just won't do to say, in the style of the brothers Kennedy, that "there are no easy answers", or "the problems are too complex". We of the new movements know that there are real answers to be given to the anxieties of the people, and accept the responsibility to formulate and propagate them, knowing that the "defeats" of November will be repeated as long as liberals have no program.

Lowndes County

The specific cases bear that out. In Lowndes County, where the panther slate received 41-45% of the vote for local offices, the complaint with the liberal alternative was a strong one. In the Democratic statewide primary Attorney General Richmond Flowers ran against Mrs. Wallace, and campaigned principally for the Negro vote, which he received; blackpower forces wanted him to campaign in white areas so as to build a force with which they could reasonably be asked to coalesce. Other-

wise, coalition is a phony slogan. Certainly, SNCC did not create Wallace.

California

In California, it is equally fantastic to blame the new politics for Reagan. In fact, Reagan won by practically a million votes. At the conference on Power and Politics where new-politics forces split on the question of how best to repudiate Governor Brown, the small minority that walked out was arguing that by working for him, it might be possible to bring him "away from the Right". The new-politics people were not attempting to spike Brown, as some of their shriller critics have argued. If they wanted to do that they could have organized a write-in drive of considerable importance, considering the level of organization they attained during the June primary fights. Rather, what they wanted to do was achieve clarity of intentions, in order to continue with the job of educating and organizing people around a real attempt to grapple with the crises we face. As Bob Scheer said at that convention, it is not the far right that brought us into Vietnam, or that let the ghettos slide into despair.

Illinois

In Illinois that was even clearer, where Senator Douglas, a model Senator from the point of view of the liberal-labor coalition, asked for re-election for his support of the LBJ record in Asia and at home. Not only was he a supporter of every escalation in Asia, but he had no more to say about the domestic crisis, apparently having run out of new ideas.

The Issues

Instead of burning up so much ideological fuel attacking the new politics, we would like to see our liberal and "democratic-left" friends take a position like the following:

1. This society, because it is militarized, corporate-dominated, and shot through with

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WE WON'T GO CONFERENCE (con't.)

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stay in the country underground. This movement gradually came together with a movement based on humanitarian grounds, to help the 400,000 Algerians in France. The Algerians were already active; they had been organized by the National Liberation Front, but they were being harassed by the police. Lynd described a June 1961 public meeting in Paris as the culmination of the resistance movement so far. The 2 movements, both encouraging desertion and "insubordination" to the draft itself and helping the Algerians, came together in a strong position. The meeting was broken up by the police and there were many arrests. At that point, a group of French intellectuals, among them Jean-Paul Sartre, formed the Committee of 121 in support of the resistance movement. Stage four, described in the manuscript, occurred after the formation of the Committee of 121 in September of 1961, and involved the Committee's forming an underground movement to help men about to be conscripted into the Algerian war to go underground or leave the country, but to continue to work against the war.

Garrison State

Sociologist at the U of C, Professor Richard Flacks, offered support for a draft resistance movement, but through analysis rather than analogy. Flacks began by describing Harold Lasswell's study, "The Garrison State," published in January 1941, in the *American Journal of Sociology*. Flacks continued: "It is clear that we are rapidly moving in this direction, and that this future is inescapable if wars such as Vietnam or the cold war continue. Many of the social and political structures of 'the garrison state' are already firmly entrenched: in particular, the merger of civilian and military elites; the sacrifice of domestic welfare for military priorities; the co-optation of science and technological advance into the military system; political institutions not yet destroyed, but decidedly weakened.

"Now, just as Lasswell predicted, the elites are becoming concerned about the disruptive effect of the unskilled and disadvantaged; and, as he anticipated, after brief attempts to try to change their attitudes, proposals are developing at an increasing rate to end their threat by the equivalents of compulsory labor."

Flacks cited as further evidence that "the garrison state" is just around the corner several proposals coming out of the UC Conference on the Draft for the establishment of some kind of compulsory national service. He mentioned a number of papers (Margaret Mead's, Morris Janowitz's) that offered compulsory national service as a solution to national ills ranging from "instilling patriotism" to "ending alienation and identity crises."

Another paper written for the UC Conference by Kenneth Boulding, Flacks continued, makes clear why the WE WON'T GO conference "is so much more important than the one across the street." Boulding points out, Flacks said, "that powerful and highly expansive state systems have collapsed within a short time, in part because they ceased to have legitimacy. The draft and the garrison state are signs of the weakening legitimacy of the national violence-centered state." The conference across the street, Flacks went on to say, is "trying to shore up a system which fewer and fewer people can accept with enthusiasm. You, more realistically, are acting to bring its demise."

Resistors

David Mitchell and Jeff Segal were there as visible examples of men who had tried, and were still trying, singly, and sometimes with a splash of publicity, to fight the system. Although others like them are in jail, Mitchell and Segal are still around to be heard. As any C. O. counselor will tell you, every draft case is strikingly unique. Segal's and Mitchell's lives and personalities are, moreover, fundamentally different from each other. Briefly put, Segal's encounter with the draft began because he was a political activist, whereas Mitchell's very different encounter turned him into one.

Segal began as a political activist at Roosevelt University in Chicago and feels that his case is at least partly a result of persecution by the selective service in collusion with the university for such political activity. His aggressive attitude towards the draft board, his refusal to take selective service seriously, his refusal to be intimidated by the F.B.I. — all are manifestations of his desire to confront the inhuman system in pugnacious human terms. He has refused to be worn down by the system, and has remained cheerful to the point of cheeky, as well as humorous to the point of insolent.

Mitchell's tone is entirely different. He began his struggle very much as an individual, his approach was quietly human and very serious. He was saying to his draft board: I'm a human being who holds certain values. I want to talk to you. He always answered their letters. He wanted to establish a dialogue with them, just as later on, in his now famous case, he wanted to establish a dialogue with the federal government. His case, based on the Nuremberg Trials, argues the position that Mitchell is not on trial at all — rather, the U.S. government is. Hence, Mitchell feels, there is no reason for him to be apologetic. He is simply not willing to be an Eichmann-like party to the murders in Vietnam.

In spite of their differences, several similarities emerged from their narratives. They stood before the 500 people there as living examples of men who have been going through the struggle with draft boards, the F.B.I., and the courts for years and years — Mitchell since 1961 and Segal since 1964 — and who have not been crushed in the process. Their narratives, moreover, testified that they have managed to continue their personal lives during this difficult time, that they have received increasing support from their families, their friends, and the movement. And what is even more important, their struggle has strengthened them personally and has made them more effective in the movement. For though it may seem that they have, overtly at least, lost their battle — since it is likely that they will go to prison — their stories hardly served as warning to the audience before them. Rather, it was as inspiration that they were heard.

What was becoming increasingly clear as the afternoon went on was that the draft is a very critical point for everyone directly affected by it. Dave Alley, who spoke briefly for the organizing group of thirty-two, emphasized this fact. Young men have to make a choice there that is impossible to avoid. And thoughtful young men find it increasingly difficult simply to join an army that is engaged in a dirty war. The draft is no longer just a matter of interrupting one's life to go into the army for a couple of years. It is, rather, a question of following a deranged foreign policy down the path of moral and social disaster.

Militarism

As James Bevel, SCLC's civil rights leader in Chicago, put it later in the afternoon, the real enemy is the military. There is, he said, no ideological difference between us and the Russians or us and the Chinese; our mutual enemies are the "hugs" who call themselves generals. He would like to see, he said, a real movement of young people around the world that would put an end to "mass murder," since that kind of response to problems never has solved anything. He offered support to the WE WON'T GO group by suggesting that the time was approaching when the civil rights movement would, in large numbers turn their attention to the question of peace.

Negroes and the Draft

Negroes, alone and in groups, have already begun to do so, of course. And John Sumrall, an organizer for CORE had come from Quitman, Mississippi, to report such activity. Sumrall said that he was going to explain "the feeling" of some of the people in Mississippi about why they don't want to fight in Vietnam. He identified draft boards as "local white folks," the same people who urged on the Negro his respon-

sibility to the U.S. government's army at the same time that they did not "recognize black people as citizens." They are, he said, "the same people behind burning and killing people around the state." Why, he continued, should I go to "fight for freedom" there when what I need to do is "stay here and fight for freedom here?" He cited the refusal of the Congress to recognize the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party as making clear to him thereby that "I don't have a country, that I'm not a citizen. If they didn't recognize me as a citizen then, I'm not a citizen now, and I'm gonna remain that way."

In a soft and pleasant manner, Sumrall emphasized that he was not alone in seeing the draft as "the legal way" to keep Negroes from staying "at home and fighting for freedom there." When the lynch rope and other means of intimidation fail, he said, there is always the draft.

Workshops

After dinner, the conference changed form. First, three workshops assembled for two hours. A group of women, mainly U. of C. students, met to discuss how they could work as an effective, independent group and at the same time support a draft resistance movement. Thirty-five or forty men, mostly not members of the WE WON'T GO group, met to discuss "Legal Aspects of Draft Resistance." Their resource person was Arlo Tatum, who has twice served jail sentences as a non-registrant, and who is now Director of the CCCO in Philadelphia. The men who met with Tatum were asking for advice about ways to resist the draft without facing the possibly five years in prison. And as Tatum had said when speaking briefly during the afternoon, it is impossible not to feel sympathy for these men. Who wants to go to prison? Which one of us would volunteer to give up five years of our lives? As Tatum described the decision to resist the draft, already made by the WE WON'T GO group, "it's a pretty rough sincerity test."

Canada

The workshop on "Canada and the Prospects of Exile" attracted more than twice the number of men that the legal workshop did. Only seven of the seventy or so present were part of the WE WON'T GO group, and these were, for the most part, spectators only. The resource people were two Canadians, Benson Brown, Chairman of a Committee to Aid American War Objectors in Vancouver, and John Pocock from Toronto. They had brought with them a pamphlet that answered all the legal and practical questions about emigration to Canada by people of draft age. Yet for more than an hour all the "discussion" consisted of technical questions. How much money do you need? Should you write or should you go to the border? Which place on the border? Can you travel out of Canada once you get status as a landed immigrant? What kind of jobs can you get? All the questions were personal, individual ones, many of them occurring again and again. The silence in the large room was impressive. Everyone seemed to be listening with intensity to the answer to a particular person's questions and then two minutes later, someone would ask the same question again. And again, everyone would listen to the answer. It was as though the questions were so personal, so essential, that one could listen again and again, but one could hear the answer only to one's own question. (I should add that this is a phenomenon I have observed at meetings on college campuses this year. Question periods that last year would have concerned themselves with the war or with the C. O. position now are about the technicalities of getting to Canada.) In all of the first hour, there was no mention of philosophy, values, motives, movement, group, spirit. It was as though the reason for going to Canada was something needing no mention.

Several people near me were increasingly impatient. Paul Booth, one of the thirty-two WE WON'T GO people, and one of the few who is not a UC student, asked a question about working with the radical movement in Canada. But no one spoke to it and the next question was about how much money you needed at the border. Staughton Lynd said how concerned he was to hear nothing about why go to Canada and what

for. There followed an uneasy silence. Then Booth spoke again, in an attempt to explain what this kind of non-discussion meant. He described what he felt was students' extreme alienation from everything here in the U. S. "What people do when they go to Canada," he said, "is they build a new life. But people here are not talking about that." People here didn't have what he called "a home in the anti-war movement." Similarly, he said, "they don't have a home anywhere else, and they can't expect to find one in Canada. They feel 'rootless in universities, they feel rootless in the suburbs they come from, and rootless in relation to the country they read about in the daily press.' The decision they make about their future, therefore, 'is not an emotional, deep love-hate one.'"

Somebody, after Booth's statement, did say that if forty people chartered a bus and went together across the border and re-nounced their citizenship, that would be a political act. But no one could discuss the ideas involved in going to Canada. They could only return to the fragments of technicalities involved in the process.

Results

In the large general session that began after nine p.m., it was obvious that while the conference had had the effect of "legitimizing" the draft resistor into a draft resistance movement, the movement itself lacked shape and direction. Different people were, as Arlo Tatum had said earlier in the day, at different thresholds. And in this most vital decision — what to do about one's own draft status — a person must not be pushed beyond his threshold. As Gary Benson, one of the thirty-two WE WON'T GO men, said, it took a lot of soul-searching and endless hours of discussion with many, many people for him to make his own personal decision to act with the group. The feeling with which I left the WE WON'T GO conference was — in spite of the obviously missing program for action — a positive one. Unlike the kinds of young men who could attend only to the details of fleeing to Canada, the draft resisters had a wider vision. They saw their response as a moral and a socially meaningful action. As Richard Flacks put it, "By saying 'we won't go' now we are doing our duty for the future." It is not unrealistic to expect that thousands of young men around the country will be encouraged to add their voices to those of the Chicago thirty-two.

ON THEIR OWN GROUND -- Tom Condit

One of the major sources of strength of the right wing in America is their use of radio time for propaganda broadcasts. Radio time is far cheaper than TV time (as low as \$5 for a 15-minute program in some areas) and is a major source of information for people in rural areas particularly, and also for housewives.

The Inter-University Committee for a Debate on Foreign Policy has tapes of 15-minute commentaries by Marshall Windmiller, professor of International Relations at San Francisco State College and leading figure in the anti-war movement. The cost of the tapes is \$3.50 each. Each tape could be used over several stations in an area, and money for air time could probably be raised from sympathetic faculty people and others in your area. A brochure on the commentaries is available from the Inter-University Committee, P. O. Box 701, Ithaca, N. Y. 14850. Send a stamped self-addressed envelope, because they're operating on a tight budget too.

New Politics

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radicalism, is drifting, and sometimes plunging, toward both international and internal disaster.

2. There is a modest hope of staying this drift; it lies with a reinvigoration of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. Liberals must, first of all, develop a comprehensive program which can recapture the imagination of those groups now disaffected with it — especially ghettoized Negroes, urban ethnic minorities, intellectuals, and rank-and-file trade unionists.

3. It must actively initiate efforts at grassroots organization — not through the corrupt and reactionary urban machines, but through new political mechanisms.

4. Inside the Democratic Party it must fight the business forces which are also in there trying to win control, and it must confront and defeat those other forces which emanate from racist and militarist institutions. This includes a decisive break with the present administration on foreign policy, and vigorous opposition to Big Business.

5. The responsibility for achieving this lies largely with liberal politicians, labor leaders, liberal intellectuals, and rank-and-file activists. Probably some radicals, socialists, and pacifists should be involved as a force for integrity and clear-headedness. But there is, also, a desperate need for radicals to stay independent of this coalition.

Radical's Role

a. A left-wing movement, with its own expanding constituency, is a most important mechanism for keeping the liberals in motion.

b. The liberal program, if successful, will create its own problems — in particular, it is likely to strengthen national trends toward top-down planning, centralization, and social engineering. Therefore, if democracy is to prevail there must be an autonomous radical

movement, engaged in building independent bases of insurgency and arguing for a basic social program.

Sure, these people are "extremists", and create "backlashes" (just as Martin Luther King, that eminent coalitionist, created one hell of a "backlash" this year in Illinois), but an American right-wing will only gain so long as liberals stagnate and radicals hold back from their job of "telling it as it is".

If Kahn, Max, and others were arguing these propositions, radicals in the new politics would feel altogether comfortable with them. Instead, they seem to imply that SDS, SNCC, NCNP and the peace movement should be doing the liberals' work for them, cease being independent, and coalesce around programs that are meant to deceive the people, like the "war on poverty". The current case in point is the so-called "freedom budget" which advocates increasing all domestic spending by \$28 billion a year by 1975, in the context of a budget which increases defense spending by \$23 billion a year in the same period.

The 1968 Democratic primaries for President will undoubtedly offer further occasions to renew this dialogue. With George Wallace threatening to carry states of pledged delegates in key states like Illinois, Ohio, Wisconsin and Indiana, there will be quite a hue-and-cry for new-politics forces either to rally behind the favorite-son stand-ins for LBJ, or behind efforts to bring in Bobby's personality and style, to defeat Wallace.

I hope that our critics will have more persuasive arguments against the idea of putting up new-politics slates in those situations than the arguments they are using in the wake of the liberal defeats in November. Politics, after all, only improves if people learn from previous failures.

Proposal for Viet Organizing

By STEVE JOHNSON

The types of organizing activities being used against the war in Vietnam are increasingly steadily. As the war shows no signs of slackening yet, Americans who oppose LBJ's Vietnam war policy are called upon to continue and expand their active organizing work against the war.

One good possibility for mass organizing activity is a housewives Saran Wrap boycott at supermarkets. The target is Dow Chemical, manufacturer of both Saran Wrap and napalm, and it would not be difficult to reach millions of housewives in such a campaign.

David Horowitz, in *The Free World Colossus*, quotes a BBC description from the Korean war of the effect of napalm.

"In front of us a curious figure was standing a little crouched, legs straddled, arms held out from his sides. He had no eyes, and the whole of his body, nearly all of which was visible through tatters of burnt rags, was covered with a hard black crust speckled with yellow pus . . . He had to stand because he was no longer covered with a skin, but with a crust-like cracking which broke easily . . . I thought of the hundreds of villages reduced to ash which I personally had seen and realized the sort of casualty list which must be mounting up along the Korean front."

Our humanity-loving Pentagon is again specializing in teaching American boys how to shoot burning napalm on their fellow human beings, the young men and boys of Vietnam. And Dow Chemical is loyally selling millions of dollars of napalm to the Pentagon for this purpose.

Leafleting

A concerted leaflet campaign, carried out at major supermarkets for a week's time, with photographs and appropriate text on the leaflet, would reach almost every housewife in any urban community. It might stop them not only from purchasing Dow Chemical's Saran Wrap but stop them also from feeling complacent about the role of their sons and brothers and husbands in Vietnam.

A leaflet on this should do more than criticize the use of napalm. It would also make the comment that millions of South Vietnamese farmers seem firm in their opposition to the government in Saigon and firm in their preference for the National

Liberation Front. (See NY Times, Nov. 23, Max Frankel's article.) And it would take the stand that it is better to negotiate with the human beings in the NLF than to burn them.

Referendums

Another good organizing program would be campaigns all across the country for local voter referendums on the issues of the Vietnam war.

Public referendums, conducted on whatever levels are most convenient (from municipal to statewide), have several advantages that were lacked by the recent peace candidacies for Congress.

There are many people who are critical of LBJ's conduct of the war who have not been willing to use their vote for a Congressman for the purpose of registering their opinions on the war. For one reason or another, a good percentage of anti-war Americans still desire to vote for their regular Republican Party or Democratic Party candidates. For this kind of reason, the total vote for peace candidates almost certainly failed to show the true strength of antiwar feeling among Americans.

On the other hand, a good referendum involves every voter directly in the issues of the Vietnam war. It does not get so tied up in distracting questions of party politics.

The logic behind the referendum is that the voters are using the referendum to express their opinions and to lay down guidelines by which their district's man in Congress will be guided, no matter which party he represents. If a series of referendums can be held, in which the majorities come out in favor of immediate US negotiation with the National Liberation Front, this will impose great pressure on Congress which it hasn't felt before to speak out against LBJ on the war.

Military Options

Even with a referendum, it is not simple to formulate a range of questions that enables voters to express their opinions accurately on both political and military policy issues. One range of options, for example, could list military choices:

A. Step up bombing of North Vietnam and put more US troops in South Vietnam.
B. Send more US troops into S. Vietnam.

C. Call a long pause in the bombing of North Vietnam and hold troop levels steady in South Vietnam. D. Cease bombing of North Vietnam entirely and hold troop levels steady. E. Reduce US troop levels in South Vietnam.

Political Options

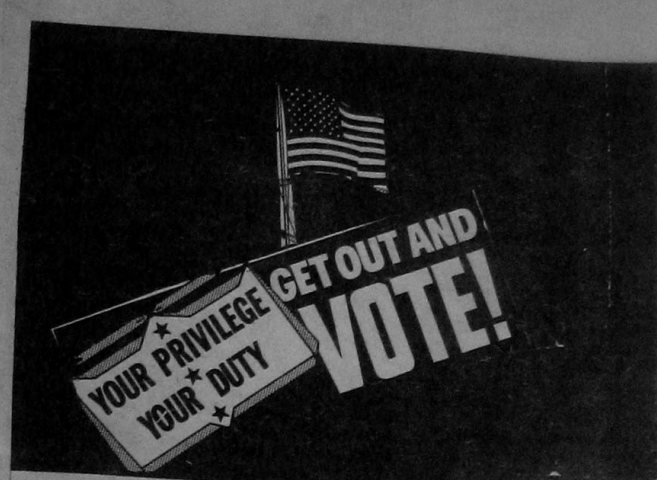
The more relevant issues are the questions of US political objectives in South Vietnam.

A. Under no circumstances should the National Liberation Front be allowed into the government of South Vietnam. B. Communists and members of the National Liberation Front should be allowed to run for office in South Vietnam. C. The people of South Vietnam should be allowed to vote on whether they want their government to be neutralist in international affairs, whether they want US troops to remain or to withdraw. D. The US should negotiate immediately with the National Liberation Front. E. The US should withdraw and leave the resolution of the present conflict to the Vietnamese themselves.

This kind of referendum will put a good set of choices on the ballot. It will give opponents of the war a very effective method for raising the Vietnam issue for people on the precinct level. Probably only a minority will vote for immediate US withdrawal, but a majority of voters quite likely would endorse a policy of immediate US negotiation with the NLF.

The campaign on this kind of referendum would allow precinct workers and organizers to get at the most vulnerable spot in the Administration's Vietnam policy. American voters have not yet been told the truth about how long the Vietnam war is going to continue. By even the most optimistic estimate, it will take ten years of continued fighting to "pacify" the countryside completely, and twenty years before Saigon will have any capacity to establish a government viable on its own.

As soon as voters figure out for themselves what a long and costly, bloody war Vietnam is going to involve, and as soon as they figure out that it is being fought only for the purpose of fixing a right-wing dictatorship in power instead of a left-wing



B. Draft Resolution

" . . . and urges young men to resist the draft."

(Text)

"SDS believes the war in Viet Nam (a clear and blatant example of the corrupt nature of the present American System. This war is not a war for freedom, but a war against the right of men to choose their own form of government.

We must bring people to challenge this war and that system. This can best be done by showing how this war affects their lives. For students and young people generally, the draft is a clear and very threatening effect of the war on their lives. SDS should organize around this concern of young people thru anti-war and anti-draft activity.

SDS opposes the draft itself, no matter what form it takes, because of its undemocratic and coercive nature. SDS opposes the 'conscription of all men for the war in Viet Nam and urges young men to resist the draft.

On campus, SDS will organize to end University cooperation with the war machine.
(1) Find at least one person to seek (and publish in *New Left Notes*) information on local draft programs; to gather relevant documents and travel.

dictatorship, their quiescence on the war will disappear immediately.

In most parts of the country legal procedures for conducting public referendums are available, and any energetic citizen's organization can take advantage of them. It will be excellent organizing experience for many in SDS to become involved in a nationwide series of Vietnam referendum campaigns. And these referendums also will help bring millions of Americans for the first time into a real confrontation with the root issues of US present day foreign policy.

Saran Wrap boycotts against napalm and Vietnam referendums are not the only action campaigns open to us. But it may be that they have a unique potential for organizing mass opposition to this hideous war. SDS chapters may find that these can become a successful Lilliputian strategy for finally stopping that stampeding Gulliver in the White House.

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IDEOLOGY

DISCUSSION

Paranoid Politics Revisited

by Marvin Mandell
Iowa City, Iowa

It is discouraging to read Alan Jehlen's Nov. 4 critique of my Sept. 23 article "Against Paranoid Politics" for three reasons: he misses the whole point of the article; he errs, in fact, and he falls into the very polarization of good and evil that my article warns against.

Mr. Jehlen is revolted at my coupling Maoists, Stalinists, and black power advocates on the one hand, with Jehovah Witnesses, Nazis, and white racists on the other. But in what sense did I couple these (strange, indeed) bedfellows? Not in a total sense. By no means, I coupled them only in the sense of their feelings of charisma. As soon as someone feels that another's worth is not as valuable as his own, he can harm him with impunity. Chinese Red Guards forcing a girl to wear a hat with the word "scum" on it is the same kind of act as Nazis tweaking a rabbi's beard. Of course there are many reasons for charismatic feelings; of course it is easiest for us to understand those of oppressed blacks (although Mr. Jehlen adds nothing to human knowledge with his observation that black racism is emotional rather than intellectual — what does he think paranoia is?) As Freud said, there would be no persecution complex if there were no persecution. But let us not forget that charisma and paranoia are a plague that hinders and sometimes ruins a good cause. (See Paul Feldman's article in Sept.-Oct. *Dissent* on how black power plays into the hands of those racists who want to see the Negroes retreat into the Northern ghettos and Southern enclaves.)

His failure to understand my coupling these groups in terms of charisma leads Mr. Jehlen to a dangerous factual error. He writes, "... red guards tying someone to a lamp post and cutting off his Western hair cut are qualitatively better than Nazi hoodlums murdering helpless Jews." While this statement is, in itself true, what coupled was not Chinese Red Guard activity with Nazi murder, but rather with "... Nazi hoodlums smashing windows during 'Kristallnacht.' The distinction is important. Mr. Jehlen's, in changing window smashing to murder, misses the point I was suggesting: Chinese Red Guard activity may eventually lead to murder just as 'Kristallnacht' did, for the Nazis did not kill on that evening — they humiliated. In another factual error he says I accuse Chinese Red Guards of rape, of which, of course, they are incapable, having been enervated by reading Mao's prose after a full day's study or work. In writing, "It makes no difference whether a peasant woman is being raped by a gang of red or white guards..." I was referring to the 1918-19 Red and White Cossack rapes described, for example, in the stories of Isaac Babel, who died, by the way, in a Stalinist — not socialist — concentration camp.

Mr. Jehlen's not so speechless indignation at my article also leads him to wild polarization of camps. He says that I dismissed the entire Russian Revolution in one sentence. In referring to the degeneration of the Russian Revolution, I, a Marxist, did not mean it as a total thing. I was thinking of such matters as the purge trials, the

"The most dangerous enemy of truth and freedom amongst us is that compact majority — yes, the damned, compact Liberal majority — that is it! Now you know!"

Henrik Ibsen

AN ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE

NEW LEFT NOTES

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STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Nickelblom, president; Cari Davidson, vice-president; and Greg Calvert, national secretary.
National Office: 1608 W. Madison, Rm. 206, Chicago, Ill. 60612 (312) 666-3874
New York City: 49 West 27th St., NYC, NY 10011; (212) 889-5793
Niagara Region: 107 Dryden Rd., Ithaca, NY
Northern California: 924 Howard St., San Francisco, Calif. (415) 382-7922
Southern California: 4218 Melrose, Los Angeles, California, 90019
New England: 138 River St., Cambridge, Mass., 02139
Radical Education Project: 510 East William, Ann Arbor, Mich.

concentration camps (which, fortunately, no longer exist), and the crushing of the Hungarian Revolution, all of which, I hope he will agree, were a far cry from the dreams of Lenin and Trotsky. Mr. Jehlen's reference to the fact that there are no beggars in China or starving people in Russia almost of either in Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy during the years just before World War II? I don't mean to minimize economic accomplishments, but what we should look for especially in each country is (1) equitable distribution of wealth; (2) encouragement of free art (not the banning of Bach and the smashing of the Venus de Milo); (3) democratic right of strike and of speech (especially the right to dissent); and (4) worker's democratic participation in economic and political decisions.

Of course, I don't mean to freeze any big society into an unchanging block of ice; all in this world of ours is in a flux. But Mr. Jehlen does no service to the cause of socialism by saying that the leaders of the Chinese cultural "revolution" have basically the same goals as SDS. The truth more probably is that Mao, either having been outwitted or about to be outwitted at the first plenary session of the Central Committee to be convened in four years, called on the Army and the youth to bail him out. Hence the exaltation of Marshal Lin Biao and the Red Guard terror. Note that Liu Shao-chi, President of China, has said nothing in support of the Red Guards. (See Isaac Deutscher's Oct. 31 *Nation* article.)

If China is on the eve of a Stalinist purge, Mr. Jehlen will have to use finer tools to analyze it than his sledgehammer of Nov. 4. I would suggest a reading of Wilhelm Reich's *Mass Psychology of Fascism* and *The Sexual Revolution* which analyze the close interrelationship of economic exploitation and sexual repression. More than any other books, these explain charisma and paranoia in modern politics.

Perhaps the biggest travesty in recent Chinese Red Guard activity is that it is done in the name of Marx and Lenin. According to Franz Mehring, Marx "... was always a faithful lover of the ancient Greeks and he would have scourged those contemptible souls from the temple who would prevent the workers from appreciating the culture of the classic world. According to Marx's son-in-law, Paul Lafargue, Marx read Aeschylus in the original Greek text at least once a year. Marx knew Heine and Goethe by heart and loved Shakespeare, Dante, Burns, Fielding, Scott, Balzac, etc., etc. Lenin loved Beethoven and also (according to Bertram D. Wolfe's *Three Who Made a Revolution*), Gogol, Turgenyev, Pushkin, Tolstoy, among others.

Most surprising in Mr. Jehlen's letter is his statement that discussions with those people (including leaders of Chinese Red Guards) "must be carried on." He means leaders not of China (many of whom were humiliated by Red Guards, according to Deutscher), but of the Red Guards. I can't imagine what kind of discussions he plans to carry on with them. Most of them have been sent home, on foot. If any are still left in Peking, the only discussion I can think of would be on the order of "Now that 'Street of Hatred to Capitalist-Fascist-Imperialist Aggression' has been changed to 'Street of Eternal Resistance Against Revisionist Lackeys and Traitors,' how do you get to the pissot?"

Toward a Workable Ideology

by Paul Buhle
Storrs, Conn.

The Condit-Cunningham-Greene series is excellent insofar as it constitutes a sort of dialogue; most non-news articles in NLN (including my own) appear to be appealing to everyone and no one, and apparently solicit little excited response. But the path of this particular series has been pendulum-like, swinging back and forth over possible solutions to the Communism-anti-Communism nexus. Offhand, I would credit the failure to approach a real theoretical solution to a fundamental lack of dialectical thinking in SDS; we generally show a fierce desire to sweep aside contradictions instead of fitting them into a larger system; and we consequently answer arguments not by demystification, but rather denial of premises. Rather than attempt a full-length article based on a dialectical approach (which I do not presume to be able yet to do), I would like to make a few brief points which would concern the creation of this truly Third Position:

1) The Main Enemy, as Marx clearly saw, is for each populace at home (i.e., for us, those who run the United States). Thus we in SDS can easily regard the internal cornerstone of world capitalism—as most significant to our day-to-day struggle. We who must tackle the greatest leviathan the world has ever known must regard that leviathan's problems as the Central Contradiction today.

2) In this light, the "Socialist World" is neither an Equal Enemy or our Leader in the struggle. Its actions are to be supported insofar as they make progress for their own people (e.g., economic development in China) and confine to support leftist revolution abroad. We must attempt to understand the difficulties of the Soviet Union and people's China instead of polemicalizing either for or against their handling of these difficulties. And we must ultimately find the means to correctly condemn the actions which are counter-revolutionary (like the Chinese role in Pakistan and Japan, or the Russian role in Latin America).

3) We must work on a specific SDS analysis toward these ends. One wishes Greene had talked less about the CPUSA, whose shifting role is well known, and more about the existing "socialist" countries. As such, he has only proved the existence of a sort of "exploitation" at one period—if Soviet actions robbed countries of essential capital and supported a native Ruling Class (as American Imperialism does). It is a strange robbery which abolishes capitalism, and a strange Ruling Class which is impelled to move toward socialization. In short, so-called "State Capitalism" necessitates a fresh analysis, not tired attacks or defenses.

4) In this search, we must adopt the method of a figure whose contradictions SDSers would do well to understand, Chairman Mao. People are positively undialectical; most will argue only over tactics, thinking the only alternative is the factionalism of the Itchy Old Lefties. Yet after deep study, argue we must, if we carry into this discussion the understanding that Mills' unanalytical Third World position is no more or less backward than "Marxist-Leninism" as we now know it — both in my mind being archaic — I think we will find the path towards a new position which consumes and thereby stands above both.

It may be that SDS has not fought together long enough as an organization (and therefore developed the necessary unity on the "action level of consciousness", as Gramsci puts it) to undertake such a dialogue. Perhaps those who pressed for such (like myself) have been too hasty. But we must keep the absolute necessity for this discussion in the front of our minds, and at least correct our own methods of thinking so that when dialogue and criticism occurs, we can incorporate the arguments of our SDS opponents into our own developing critique, instead of seeking merely to demolish them.

NAC
MINUTES

December 1, 1966

Members present: Jean Tepperman, Tom Condit, Dee Jacobson, Greg Calvert, Rich Berkowitz.
Members absent: Steve Kindred, Earl Silbar, Brent Kramer, Paul Lauter, JOIN.
Others present: Jane Adams.



Agenda: 1. Student Strike-Chicago Peace Council. 2. Berkeley. 3. Finances. 4. Staff and Printing. 5. Office cars. 6. SSOC. 7. December Conference. 8. Membership Referendum.

1. Student Strike-Chicago Peace Council. The Chicago Peace Council is hosting the planning conference for the intended Student Strike. The conference will be held in Chicago on December 28-29. Marjorie Kinsella of the CPC requested the Chicago Area mailing list of SDS for the purpose of sending out a mailing about the conference. Since the NC voted not to support the Student Strike at Clearlake (observers will be sent) and since the conference will be held simultaneously with the December Conference after Greg requested that the Student Strike planning conference not be, the NAC decided not to give the mailing list to the CPC.

2. Berkeley. A letter of support will be sent to the strikers and the N.O. will call for support demonstrations by SDS chapters.

3. Finances. The financial situation is VERY DESPERATE this week after being only desperate last week. \$2,000 is needed by Monday. The office will not be able to function unless money begins to roll in. Calvert is sending out a December Fundraising Letter to all members, chapters and old contributors.



4. Staff and Printing. There is a possibility that some staff personnel may be leaving shortly. Calvert to contact people who have shown an interest in becoming staff members. The NAC decided that the present arrangement with Art Roseblum should be cancelled immediately and that he should be put back on staff.

5. Office cars. We have received the invoices and will be able to pick up two cars in Massachusetts for the office, once we have registered them in Illinois and have insured them. Insurance will now be looked into.

6. SSOC. We will see if it is alright with SSOC that complimentary NLN be sent to their chapters and if special rates be given to people who subscribe to NLN through the SSOC office. If it is okay with them, then it will be brought up at the December NC. We will also ask SSOC if we could possibly use Bucks Cove (SSOC camp in North Carolina) as a possible site for the April NC.

7. December Conference. The NAC recommends to the California committee that a \$5 registration fee be charged to California people and that the registration fee be waived to people who have travelled a great distance. If subsidies are possible, the subsidy schedule will be as follows: \$5 to people from east of the Rockies, \$10 to people from east of the Appalachians and the Southeast. Subsidies will be granted only to NC delegates.

8. Membership Referendum. So far, only a little over a hundred ballots have been received. This is very disappointing, to say the least. The membership will be reminded about the referendum in NLN and the chapters will be reminded in the next chapter mailing.

submitted by Rich Berkowitz

REP PAGE

PARTNERS in APARTHEID

by Pete Henig REP Staff

An article for *The Toledo Free Press*, Bulletin of Toledo SDS, 1013 Adams Street, Toledo, Ohio 43624.

The Great Society could be a very entertaining, and even downright hilarious arrangement. After all, one of the wellsprings of humor is the underlying tension between myth and reality which we are all able to sense and which makes possible the remark or the cartoon which is funny because it makes that underlying tension visible. Our social arrangements are filled with such opportunities. Yet we are notably short on humor. What follows is a description of why nobody is laughing.

Ours is the world's first true business society. It has even succeeded in winning clerical endorsement of its temporal undertakings. Clerical dissent is the exception rather than the rule. And so, anyone who would like to establish the fact of the existence of a social evil which grows out of the operations of the American business system will try to find the rare religious leader who is saying the same thing.

We found a letter to *THE NEW YORK TIMES* by Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen, President Emeritus of Union Theological Seminary, to serve our purposes. Three years ago, Dr. Van Dusen wrote:

There could hardly be a more dramatic illustration of the direct contradiction between the practices of United States banking and business on the one hand and the policy of the United States Government in canceling all military aid to South Africa on the other hand, rightly reflecting, one must believe, the abhorrence of the overwhelming majority of the American people for the present South African government's ruthless implementation of apartheid.

... There has seldom been a more flagrant instance of American business' disregard of national convention. Let there be no underestimate of the importance which the ruling minority in South Africa attaches to American financial support. I know from first-hand testimony that it is their strongest single encouragement to pursuit of their present policies...

... Every American who is a stockholder or depositor in commercial firms doing business in South Africa is indirectly a participant in the cruel repression of the majority of the South African populace; in the aggravation of violence, bloodshed and brutality which daily increase, and, it may well be, in the ultimate loss of American financial investment. I

Now, as everyone knows, the only people outside the government who share a license for high-blown moralizing equal to that of our clergy are our businessmen. Presumably, it was under this license that Edgar F. Kaiser, the President of Kaiser Industries Corporation, told his audience at the 1964 annual meeting of the Toledo Area Chamber of Commerce that:

The basic product that we in the United States must export overseas is really our own beliefs that are set forth in the Bill of Rights and the Amendments to our own Constitution. Our beliefs are admired universally by the peoples of all the world. It is our responsibility to remember that as members of organized society, we must keep it that way.

Two-thirds of the world's peoples are non-white, and it is quite understandable that they are scrutinizing our actions to see if our deeds match our stated beliefs. It's the responsibility

of every one of us to play whatever part we can in providing the correct answer, because there is no longer a place for prejudice. 2

One is intrigued at the prospects of the rhetoric Mr. Kaiser would pour forth if he were confronted in public with the fact that Willys Afrika (Pty.) Ltd., a subsidiary of Kaiser Jeep Overseas S.A., Toledo, Ohio, is distributing products in South Africa which are readily convertible into vehicles for the "maintenance of internal security." In an interview during August of this year, a Mr. Miller in the Washington office of the Kaiser Jeep Corporation stated that his company is distributing in South Africa a group of vehicles identical to those his company are selling to the U. S. Government for use in Vietnam. He indicated that the vehicle parts had been cleared by the Commerce Department under the Export Control Act for shipment to South Africa. The report appeared in the publication *Automobile in South Africa*. 3

Thus, the management of a major automotive manufacturer proclaims the world's people "are scrutinizing our actions to see if our deeds match our stated beliefs" while strengthening and deriving profit from the most brutal totalitarian and racist regime on the face of the earth. Mr. Kaiser, what are ordinary people supposed to think?

Kaiser Jeep is, of course, not alone among Toledo's giant corporations. Prestolite, Champion, and Owens-Corning Fiberglas also have operations in the Union of South Africa. Last year Owens-Corning invested \$1,400,000 in a new plant in South Africa. Two Owens-Corning executives flew to Johannesburg to proclaim what the South African Government called a "message of hope for South Africa."

The first of the two Toledo luminaries was Lauris Norstad, the Owens-Corning Board Chairman who, as Commander of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, provided U. S. contributed arms to Portugal which were used to enforce the slave-labor laws in Portugal's African possessions, Angola and Mozambique. The other was Mr. Harold Boeschstein of 28449 E. River, the President of Owens-Corning, and a local patron of the arts. Boeschstein is a member of the Board of Trustees, the Executive Committee, and the Endowment Committee of the Toledo Museum of Art.

Upon his arrival, Norstad, the Defender of the Free World, delivered his part of the "message of hope for South Africa." He said:

"We have full confidence in South Africa—not only we as individuals but the United States and the American people."

The contribution of art-lover Boeschstein was:

"Any boycott moves (against South Africa) do not reflect the general opinion of the people of the United States nor of its businessmen. We have great appreciation of South Africa's importance as an ally and as an economic force in the free world." 4

These gentlemen claim to speak for the people of the United States. Yet there is absolutely no evidence that they consulted any people in Toledo (not to mention the United States) outside their own small circle of bankers and art patrons. The inmates of Toledo's disgraceful black ghettos would, if consulted, probably be less likely to agree with their self-appointed representatives than they would with America's policy of genocidal war against the people of Vietnam. Even American unionism, sadly deficient in courage when it comes to social injustice, has condemned "the nature of the nightmare Government rule in South Africa today."

In hearings before the Subcommittee on Africa of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, an official representative of the United Automobile Workers itemized some of the features of that nightmare:

The suppression of free speech; The intimidation and terrorization of doctors, lawyers, journalists, religious leaders, authors,

H. L. Neiburg, *IN THE NAME OF SCIENCE*, Quadrangle, Chicago, 1966. \$7.95. 431 pp. Reviewed by Paul Booth.

The blurb on the dust jacket calls this a "chilling account of the growth of the scientific-military-industrial complex." This is accurate, but imprecise. Professor Neiburg's (University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee) attention is on the unholy politics of research and development, which absorbs over \$10 billion a year on defense and \$4 billion in space money. This book is a handy history of the development of missile technology, and gives useful insight into inter-service rivalry, the Oppenheimer case, the growth of the R & D industry, and the role of McNamara. In one brief chapter, Neiburg describes how Simon Ramo and Dean Wooldridge, Stanford professors who were consultants to the 1954 Strategic Missiles Evaluation Committee of the Air Force, parlayed that "insider" position and some Cleveland capital into a multi-million dollar role as captains of industry in the T-R-W Corporation.

The book is marred by Neiburg's narrow political view—a defense of McNamara because of his valiant efforts to rationalize and control the R&D complex. This is a useful perspective for radicals to understand, but we learn too much about rationalizing the system and too little about controlling it.

and others who seek to testify to the hideous reality which prevails in the tyranny of South Africa;

The callous exploitation for cash of 12 million blacks;

The arbitrary arrest, imprisonment, torture and execution of the leaders of the African people and the men and women in the Republic who still speak for humanity;

And the arrogance of the Prime Minister, who in contempt of every decent sentiment in the world today boasts that he has succeeded and is succeeding in his effort to 'maintain white leadership for all time...by force if necessary.' 5

To be sure, it is more than good morality that moves the UAW to protest. Plants of U. S. companies in South Africa manufacture for export—using cut-rate black labor to keep costs down and profits high. The industrial slavery system which makes investment in South Africa so irresistible to American business constitutes a direct threat to the livelihood of millions of wage earners throughout the world.

It seems safe to say that the only way for this evil state of affairs to be brought to an end is for American citizens who are concerned for reasons of conscience, for reasons of self-interest (i.e. labor), or both, to organize themselves into grass-roots pressure groups which would make demands similar to the ones suggested by the UAW representative. These are:

(Continued on page 7)

Documentary tape-recording about Vietnam available from REP.

Announcing: The Pragmatic Warriors" a tape produced for REP by Jeremy Lustig. Running time: 52 minutes. Speed: 7 1/2 i.p.s.

For more than a year Jeremy Lustig has been taping news broadcasts related to the war in Vietnam. He has now edited them into a statement about the nature of the war and its effects on the people in it. Through the words of newscasters, indutees,

Rex Applegate, *CROWD AND RIOT CONTROL*, Stockpole Books, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1964. \$6.95.

Reviewed by Peter Henig

As the political system of our land loses its ability to absorb or redirect popular protest, as segment after segment of the population disaffiliates from one or more established institutions, government increasingly falls back upon the coercive force of the police. Although not a very new phenomenon in the outlying areas of the American Empire where the author picked up his *savoir-faire*, it is only in the past two years that state and local police have begun in earnest to gird their loins for the containment or suppression of such manifestations of domestic instability as demonstrations, sit-ins, and slum riots. This book is the cops' most widely used "how-to-do-it" manual.

Any organization engaged in working with the urban poor should have a copy handy in the office. Even if a person can't read, the detailed illustrations of such items in the "law and order" repertoire as police dogs, tear gas grenades, electric shock batons, black-jacks (optional equipment), and karate blows will help to clarify the nature of the ultimate refuge of the authorities. When you add on the text's detailed descriptions of the effects of CS riot control gas (brewed by that "I'll o!" benevolent-incapacitator-maker); the widely-imitated Toledo, Ohio police pistol-training course in which points are subtracted for hitting innocent bystanders; and of the use of police operatives as infiltrators, you come up with a still more lucid picture of reality.

What is most striking about the Applegate book is the totally bureaucratic frame of mind it asks the user to assume. That is to say, instead of exhorting the cop to use the minimum amount of violence because violence can maim or kill somebody, it repeatedly warns that maiming or killing can become a public relations headache for the police. One would suppose that if head-knocking becomes a bit more respectable, the law-enforcement officer—having no individual conscience—would feel free to employ a greater measure of violence in order to achieve effective suppression.

Ironically, Applegate's key concept in the definition of a mob or a riot is the assemblage in which the individual loses his normal inhibitions against socially unsanctioned behaviour. Using this definition, it would seem that the riot control cops who operate without individual consciences—with reference only to an organizational conscience—fit right into the author's description of a mob.

That there is more than rhetorical truth to this point may be seen in tactics that parallel one another. Applegate advises the riot squad officer who is confronted with a potentially unmanageable situation to call out the names of individuals known to be in the crowd—in this way breaking down any sense of anonymity participants in the assemblage might have come to feel. Similarly, civil rights, peace, and other movement demonstrators, when finding themselves the victims of police brutality, have attempted to calm the rioting cops by calling to them by name, taking their pictures, and recording their badge numbers.

soldiers, pilots, and government officials the listener is led to an understanding of the genocidal and de-humanizing aspect of the war, of its political indefensibility, of the nature of the official rhetoric about it, and, most of all, of the way our fighting men think of their participation in it. The materials used are from broadcasts on the American networks and the CBC.

"The Pragmatic Warriors" is an extremely valuable tool in anti-war organizing work. \$2.00 per copy. Only prepaid orders can be filled. Order from:

Radical Education Project
510 East William Street
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48108

THE CARE AND FEEDING OF

Jack Minnis is research director of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee and former research director of the voter education project.

A 19 year old Negro from Savannah, Georgia, walked into the main office of Chase Manhattan Bank in New York and asked to see David Rockefeller.

He knew David Rockefeller was Chief Executive Officer and the largest stockholder of the bank, he knew Nelson Rockefeller, David's brother, had declared loud and often that racial discrimination must end, and he knew that Chase Manhattan served as paying agent on Savannah bond issues which were floated to build segregated facilities. He was told that Rockefeller was out of town and asked what his business was. He replied that he wanted to discuss with Rockefeller the bank's policy with regard to financing segregation. He was ushered into the office of the vice-president who was in charge of the bank's municipal bond department. He asked this individual to outline the bank's policy on financing segregation. The individual assured him that the bank had had no connection with Savannah bond issues for a number of years. The young man replied, "Well, then, you'll have no objection to my examining your records, will you?" The vice-president, of course had and voiced, numerous objections. He refused to make a statement of the bank's policy. The young man informed him that, unless the bank declared itself against the financing of segregation within 24 hours, a picket line would be set up around the bank and he departed.

The next day, there having come no word from the bank, the young man and a dozen or so companions journeyed to the main office of the bank and began picketing, carrying signs protesting the Rockefeller bank's support of segregation by lending itself to the floating of bond issues for building segregated facilities in Savannah. The young man never, himself, got a chance to picket because the entire afternoon was spent explaining what was going on to curious passersby. Several joined the picket line after hearing what the young man had to say. The bank, of course, did not capitulate in any way. But this by no means indicates that the operation was a failure.

The young man has validated for himself, his companions, and a parcel of strangers on the streets of New York, what was previously only a wispy kind of theory about the complexities of racial discrimination in America.

He had begun by looking into Moody's Manual of Municipal Bonds to find what banking institutions had participated in the floating of Savannah bond issues. He found three large New York banks involved in the various outstanding issues. He hadn't the resources to attack all three, so he selected the one which was strategically vulnerable by reason of its connection with a politician who avows distaste for racial discrimination. He documented this connection by checking the Chain Banking Study published in 1962 by the Select Committee on Small Business of the U.S. House of Representatives. This document lists the top twenty stockholders of the 200 largest member banks of the Federal Reserve System.

He thus learned, doing the research for the operation, that one of the nation's largest and most prestigious banking institutions was knee-deep in profits derived from the system of segregation in the South. During the operation, he learned that officials of the bank were not willing to admit their involvement and certainly were not willing to do anything about withdrawing their support of segregation. He learned that a high official of the bank was not above telling an outright lie about that involvement. And he learned something else.

The young man is the assistant of one of the most militant of Southern Negro civil rights leaders. During demonstrations in Savannah when police repression became particularly acute, this leader went to the Danish consulate in Savannah and asked for physical asylum. He was refused and finally was caught and jailed by Savannah police. He was placed under heavy peace bonds which ensured his continued incarceration. As soon as his organization would raise the money to meet the peace bond, the authorities would increase the amount. He was in jail at the time the young man went to New York on the Chase Manhattan operation.

The demonstration at the bank took place on July 18, 1963. On July 22, 1963, the Atlanta Constitution began a series of red-baiting articles designed to separate the Savannah organization from the rest of the civil rights movement. A direct causal relation between the bank operation and the red-baiting attack cannot incontrovertibly be established. Nevertheless, such a relationship is the plausible hypothesis in the view of those best informed about the series of events.

In April, 1963, a SNCC worker spent three days tracing out in Poor's Registry of Executives and Directors the corporate connections of the officers and directors of the ten largest employers in Birmingham. He had selected the employers from the Alabama Industrial Directory, which lists both the employer and the number of employees. When he had finished researching the corporate connections, he and companion spent a night putting the information into a leaflet. Two days later SNCC people in New York picketed the New York Stock Exchange, handing out the leaflets which showed the involvement of America's stock exchange, the Birmingham newspapers published a list of prominent citizens who had formed a citizen's committee to try to negotiate a settlement of the issues upon which the Birmingham demonstrations were based. The individuals on the list, with but few exceptions, were connected with the firms which had been identified in the leaflet. Subsequent newspaper stories indicated that Roger Blough, chairman of U.S. Steel (which employs 25% of Birmingham's manufacturing force) had instructed Arthur Wiebel, head of U.S. Steel's Birmingham subsidiary, to get involved in the Birmingham affair to whatever extent was necessary to quiet things down.

In this instance, the SNCC leaflet was by no means the only pressure being exerted on the industrial structure which dominates Birmingham. The extensive press coverage of the Birmingham demonstrations had drawn protest from around the world. The Kennedy administration was besieged with enquiries from embassies the world over as to what line should be taken in rationalizing the Birmingham affair to the race and class conscious citizenry of, particularly, the African and Asian nations. Kennedy, in turn, applied the considerable weight of the presidency to the Chairman and directors of U.S. Steel.

Thus activating a power structure which had previously remained quiescent accomplished little of substantive nature in Birmingham. The power structure topped by U.S. Steel executives was interested only in cessation of the demonstrations. This it secured without any meaningful concession to the Negro community. On the other hand, those who had been involved in the making and implementing of the strategy confirmed what had theretofore been only a theory - that the corporate and banking power structure of Birmingham could, if they found it in their interest effect meaningful change in the city. The fact that no concessions were gained from the power structure reflected merely the ineffective use of strategy and tactics by the demonstration units involved.

As a result of the September, 1963, church-bombing which killed four Negro children, SNCC reworked the Birmingham power structure leaflet and mailed it out as a news story. Powledge and two other newsmen, James Reston and Mary McCrory, undertook to interview some of the individuals identified in the news release, asking for statements. None of these individuals was identified by name in the news stories they wrote, but, significantly, none of them denied they had the power to effect change. What they denied was that it would be appropriate for them to do so. Then Roger Blough, in a news conference,

stated that, even if U.S. Steel executives possessed such power, it would be wholly inappropriate to use it in such a manner. Possibly Mr. Blough is unaware of the hour-long propaganda program his company sponsors once a week on TV.

These are but two instances in which elements of the civil rights movement have attempted to require the power structure of the nation to shoulder a responsibility which is clearly theirs. In each case the corporate elite has made righteous noises, but has offered no significant concessions. One reason this is so seems to stem from the determination of many to believe that these gentlemen of power are men of good will who recognize some moral responsibility inherent in the power they wield. There is a tendency to accept what purport to be good faith promises of cooperation. The histories of these men, and of their predecessors, offer little reason to believe this sound practice. Roger Blough's attitude, expressed after the church-bombing, is one example of the complete repudiation of any moral or civil responsibility. Perhaps the most succinct recent statement of the attitude of the corporate elite was made in *Fortune* magazine in April, 1962. Frank Brughler, Comptroller of Bethlehem Steel said: "We're not in business to make steel, we're not in business to build ships, we're not in business to erect buildings. We're in business to make money."

Thus, if we who are involved in promoting change in the society would goad the power structure of the nation, or any segment of it, to act, we must keep one principle in mind. The men whom we are approaching can be depended upon to act only when they see a probability of diminished profit if they do not. And when they do act, their first instinct will be to remove the pressure by attacking its source, rather than by effecting change in the society. The long struggle of the labor movement to secure the right to organize should be sufficient proof of this. Many gravestones in the industrial centers of the East and Midwest, and in the mining centers of the West, bear silent witness to the resistance of the corporate elite to change.

How to identify the power structure in a given community? First, one must recognize that, as with Birmingham, they key figures may not even reside in the community. Every state, through a department of commerce, a board of industrial development, or some such similar department, publishes a directory of firms operating in the State. Such a directory can be purchased from the appropriate department, secured from a Chamber of Commerce, or found in a public library.

The significance of a firm in the structure of the community usually correlates closely with the size of the work force it employs. So the researcher should seek, in this directory, firms employing large numbers of persons. When he has made a list of these for the community, he should next look up the firm in Moody's Industrial Manual (which can be found in any city library). From this source he can learn the location of the home office of the corporation (if its stock is sold to the public) and the nature and scope of its operations. Going next to Poor's Registry of Executives and Directors, the researcher can learn the names of the officers and directors of the corporation, and their residence addresses, along with their other corporate connections. If neither officers nor directors of the corporation live in the community, they ordinarily the local manager of the corporation will be high in the power structure of the community.

Next the researcher should look in the yellow pages of the telephone directory to secure the names of all the banks in the community. Then he can use Moody's Bank and Finance Manual to determine the size and scope of each bank's operations. (Needless to say, the bigger the deposits and assets of the bank, the more likely are its officers and directors to be men of significant power in the community.) And he can use the Poor's Registry to identify the other corporate connections of the officers and directors of the banks. (He'll be sure to find that many of the directors of the community's industrial corporations are on the boards of the banks.) Next he should consult the Chain Banking Study of the House Select Committee on Small Business to determine the stock ownership of the bank, and the extent to which it is influenced or controlled from outside the community. He can obtain from the House Banking and Currency Committee a study of Treasury and Loan Accounts in Private Banks, which was published early this year. From this study he can learn the precise extent to which the banks in the community are subsidized by deposits of federal money.

The researcher should get the names of the electric, gas, transportation and water utilities, as well as the telephone company, and look them up in Moody's Utilities Manual and Moody's Transportation Manual. Then he should run the officers and directors of these firms through Poor's Registry to obtain their corporate connections. More information can be gained on the ownership of the electric utilities from a study of Top Stockholders of Private Power Companies published by the Electric Consumers Information Committee, 2000 Florida Avenue, N.W., Washington, 9, D.C.

The researcher should secure the name of the corporation which publishes the daily newspapers in the community. He may find the corporation listed in Moody's Industrials. If the corporation is not one which sells its stock to the public, then two courses are open. The researcher can look through the back files of the paper to find the publisher's statement of ownership and indebtedness which is usually published during October or November. Or he can go to the State Capital and look at the corporation charter which is kept on file in the Secretary of State's office. In any case, the researcher should by all means learn the names of the individuals who sit as officers and directors of the publishing corporation. He should follow the same procedure for all radio and TV stations in the community. These individuals should be traced out through Poor's for their other connections.

If there are any insurance companies of substantial size with home offices in the community (find out from Chamber of Commerce or in the yellow pages) the researcher should look them up in Moody's Bank Finance Manual, and their directors and officers in Poor's.

The same should be done for the two or three largest department stores. They will be found in Moody's Industrials.

Thus far we've been talking about men of power whose operations are as likely to be of national or international scope, as they are local. There will be in any community individuals whose power does not extend beyond the confines of the community. Usually they will be the proprietors of relatively small businesses, or they will be renters. It is always a good idea to secure the names of the directors of the Chamber of Commerce and run these names through the City Directory, which lists the occupations of most of the city's residents. If small business men and renters are not found on the board of at least one bank in the community, they probably do not wield significant power. (This is merely a rule of thumb which should be applied sparingly and with discretion).

One method of securing information about the renter class in a community is to check the ownership of the valuable commercial property. It would be well for the researcher to visit the office of the county tax assessor and examine his map of property ownership. The researcher might check the ownership of the land in four or five of the blocks in the principal commercial and industrial areas of the community. If the ownership of key corporate charter records in the state capital to identify individuals. If the researcher is interested in the ownership of a particular piece of property (i.e., slum tenements) he needs only the street address to confirm ownership in the records of the tax authorities. (Some counties may have peculiar records systems, the use of which requires other

POWER STRUCTURES-- JACK MINNIS

information; if so, clerical personnel in the office can and will explain things to you.) It would be a good idea to check carefully on the ownership of all property involved in current or anticipated urban renewal projects. All cities have planning departments from which can be obtained information on such projects.

The clerk of court, both municipal and state, keeps records of all litigations, both civil and criminal. It is sometimes fruitful to run through the civil and criminal indexes in the clerk's office to see what can be turned up about crucial individuals in the power structure. Such information as can be gleaned from this process is frequently of value in assessing weak points in the power structure of the community.

If at any time a particular lawyer's name appears, either in connection with the above research, or in connection with community affairs, he should be checked in Martindale and Hubbell's directory which can usually be found in the city library. If he is a member of a law firm (and sometimes if he practices alone) the firm's clients may be listed in the directory. In this manner it can frequently be determined for whom a lawyer may be acting in a given situation.

Certainly the names of all members of the city council or the board of aldermen should be checked for all occupations in the City Directory.

Now, what is to be done with all this information? First of all, if one is to understand the structure of community power, and how and toward what ends it functions, such information is vital. If its possession leads to nothing more, in the short run, than a clearer understanding of the nature of the society, the work will have been worthwhile. The beginner in such research may find himself hard put to interpret such information politically and socially unless he has done some background reading. A reading list might include: Gustavus Myers, *A History of the Great American Fortunes*; Victor Perle, *The Empire of High Finance*; Louis Brandeis, *Other People's Money* (dated but still relevant); Thomas Lynch, *The Concentration of Economic Power*; Robert Enler, *The Politics of Oil*; David Loh, *Public Plunder*; Aaron Wildavsky, *Dixie-Yates*; Alfred Sloan, *My Years with General Motors*; Harvey O'Connor, *Mellon's Millions*. These are but a few of the available books which deal with the power of wealth in America, how it is accumulated and how it is used.

Secondly, community organization for action must be approached with the assumption that someone, or group, in the community has the power to make decisions and to implement them. The problem then becomes one of identifying who and how he or they can be influenced to make the decisions desired rather than another one none at all. If the nature of our institutions is as outlined above, the appropriate strategy is clear: any project must specify certain objectives; then it must identify those groups in the community whose interests will be enhanced by attaining the objectives, those groups whose interests will be damaged and those groups who have the effective power to decide whether or not the objectives will be achieved. When this identification has been made it will frequently develop that the groups whose interests will be adversely affected are the same groups who have the power to decide whether or not the objectives will be achieved. This being the case, project personnel must then develop tactics such that these power groups will find it expedient to effect the project's objectives because in the situation created by project personnel, it would be more costly not to do so. What I am actually saying here is that the real power in any community always lies with the people if they are possessed of the necessary information and are determined to apply their potential power to their problems.

Now, of course, all this implies that project personnel know whose interests will be affected by a given program, and that they also know something about the functioning of the institutions to which they are opposed. You cannot create a situation in which certain groups will anticipate damage to their interests if you do not know what those interests are, and if you have not identified the individuals whose interests are involved.

For example, shortly after SNCC began demonstrations against Toodle House restaurants in Atlanta, several SNCC members bought shares of stock in the corporation which owned the restaurants. Immediately the company management was put on notice that unless the restaurants were desegregated, a ruckus would be raised at the annual stockholders' meeting, and that the new shareholders were thinking of a stockholders' suit aimed at proving that continued segregation of the restaurants constituted gross mismanagement and dissipation of assets. An official of the company appeared in Atlanta and agreed to substantial desegregation of the restaurants.

In another instance, with the Krystal restaurants, SNCC learned that they were owned by a corporation whose stock was not on sale to the public and whose owners, therefore, were not vulnerable to this kind of attack. SNCC also learned that two of the directors of the corporation were also directors of an insurance company in Chattanooga. This offered one approach. SNCC learned that one of the directors was a director of the American National Bank and Trust Company in Chattanooga. This bank, through its other directors, was vulnerable on a number of scores. The bank had, on October 15, 1963, \$2,927,690.15 of Treasury Tax and Loan money among its deposits. It would therefore have been vulnerable through an attack aimed at the U.S. Secretary of the Treasury. None of these avenues were followed because a number of factors intervened to direct attacks elsewhere. However, the case of the Krystal company illustrates how unlikely it is that a corporation of any size will not be vulnerable to a set of conditions which can be created with some ease by a determined project the personnel of which know where they are going and how to get there.

This is not to say, of course, that many of the issues around which projects will be organized, particularly in the north, will not be considerably more complicated than the simple desegregation of a restaurant. When issues such as housing, unemployment, inadequate schools, etc., are involved it will not be so easy to find direct pressure points. Nevertheless, in any community there are a few men who have the power to decide or not to decide whether your objective will be achieved. Once you have identified these individuals, the means of persuading them it is really in their own best interest to do what you want done will be more or less apparent.

In a movement such as this, the one and only source of power on our side is people. They represent a constant potential threat to existing structures of power. The threat is twofold.

There is great danger that the people will come to understand what is being done to them by the power structure. This danger probably accounts for the ill repute of muckraking in a society whose values are largely determined by the power structure.

And the power structure is very uneasy when people are on the move. The mere presence of politically mobilized masses makes the stock market dip and the interest rates go up.

Informing the people about the nature of power in the community strikes a very real blow at the power structure, mobilizing the people to united action toward specific objectives will unstructure the power structure.

APARTHEID, (con't)

(1) No government agency or any U. S.-supported financial agency underwrite, guarantee, or grant a loan for any purpose whatever in the Republic of South Africa;

(2) No purchases be made by the American government of any product produced in South Africa;

(3) The licensing powers in connection with exports which are now available to the administration be applied to the Republic of South Africa and that no export licenses of any kind be granted;

(4) The authority possessed by the Secretary of the Treasury to forbid the importation of any articles into the United States which are produced by forced labor be invoked against the appropriate products from South Africa;

(5) Legislation be enacted which denies tax benefits or credit of any kind to the profits earned by American corporations under the conditions of apartheid; and

(6) The provisions of the civil rights laws and of Executive orders which require companies doing business with the United States to maintain equal employment conditions be enforced against American corporations now applying the ugly apartheid rule in South Africa.

In the manufacturing city of Toledo the formation of such a citizens' organization is surely in order. It ought to be composed of university people, of clergy, of people from the black ghetto, and of unionists. Only people such as these will be able to reduce the deadly gap between rhetoric and reality in this country to more acceptable levels. Only through their efforts will we be able to laugh at ourselves again.

Footnotes

1. Dr. H. P. Van Dusen, letter from Johannesburg to the editor of *The New York Times*, Oct. 2, 1963. Reproduced in *Africa Today*, March, 1964. Published by the American Committee on Africa, 211 East 43rd Street, New York, N. Y.

2. Edgar F. Kaiser, An Address Presented at the 70th Annual Meeting of the Toledo Area Chamber of Commerce. Published by the Toledo Area Chamber of Commerce.

3. Cited by Richard Thomas in *Potential Political Implications of U. S. Economic Involvement in South Africa*, Sept., 1966, prepared at the Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D. C. for the American Committee on Africa.

4. An account of the Norstad-Boeschstein trip is given by Jack Minnis in the *SDS Economic Research and Action Project Newsletter*, April 8, 1965. The Norstad remarks are also cited by Thomas (above) as appearing in *United Nations Security Council Document No. S/6453*. Information Service Mar. 30, 1966.

5. Statement of Kenneth Robinson, Regional Director, United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW), Grand Rapids, Michigan, before the Subcommittee on Africa of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, March 10, 1966.

6. Statement of Kenneth Robinson.

"An example of local muckraking which is useful in developing chapter program and organizing new constituencies."

call for CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Last February, thirty-two of us sat down in the middle of Times Square in New York City, blocked traffic for about fifteen minutes, and were arrested. It was just after a snow storm and the street was damp and dirty with slush. The United States had just resumed bombing North Vietnam and this was our response.

I recall feeling pleased with myself that cold winter's night. It was my first experience with civil disobedience and I was proud of it. Also, like many in the peace movement at that time, I was naive enough to think that the movement would continue to grow and soon exercise enough political muscle to make Lyndon Johnson change his ways. How wrong we all were.

Last May a new escalation loomed on the horizon. Hanoi and Haiphong seemed likely targets for American bombs. Many of us in the peace movement considered that if such an escalation took place, we should again commit some form of civil disobedience in protest.

But the prospect of this jail-in pleased no one. We sensed our own frustration and determined to stop reacting to decisions over which we had no control. We were beating our heads against a brick wall demanding an end to the Vietnam War, so we decided to experiment with a more limited objective and to anticipate rather than to react to the next act of escalation.

The Program

Thus the idea of an anti-escalation project came into being. Through May and June, members of the N. Y. Workshop in Non-violence and CNVA worked out the details. Our plan was to send out calling people to pledge themselves to commit civil disobedience after any one of five forms of escalation took place. The tactics, time, and place for the demonstration was spelled out in the call. The purpose of the project was to define escalation before it took place, plan

an appropriate response to it, and publicize our intended response beforehand to make escalation an issue.

The day that the final version of the call was in the typewriter being drafted, bombs fell on Hanoi. So much for that anti-escalation project.

Once again, escalation seems imminent. James Reston and other prominent journalists and a number of politicians have blandly predicted an invasion of North Vietnam. Americans, even in the peace movement, have become fatalists. The feeling is, if Lyndon decrees it, it shall come to pass.

As before, a number of people within New York City pacifist circles prepared themselves for another stay in jail and began planning an appropriate response. Then the Hanoi-Haiphong anti-escalation project was recalled, salvaged from the files, and we think we've beat Lyndon to the punch.

The Terms

This time the demonstration is being hinged on seven possible escalations: invasions of North Vietnam and Cambodia, attack on China, bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong proper, mining of Haiphong harbor, use of nuclear weapons, and the resumption of hostilities after a meaningful truce. (The annual Christmas and New Years' cease fire does not fall into the last category). In New York, over 70 so far have pledged to commit civil disobedience by nonviolently attempting to close down the Army Induction Center at Whitehall Street. And the call has not yet been distributed to the peace movement at large. In a number of other cities, peace groups are planning similar actions of their own, some involving civil disobedience, others not.

The actual act of protest is the least important part of this demonstration. Although we hope that this will be the largest demonstration in the peace movement's history (the record being 350 at the Assembly of

(continued on page 11)

BLACK POWER conference

The three major concerns of the University of Nebraska SDS this year have been university reform, internal education and "black power." Our concern with the "black power" slogan arose from the reaction of the town and campus, which was caused mainly by the racist interpretation given that phrase by the national press and by national politicians. We felt that those directly concerned with the movement should be heard, and so we set out organizing a teach-in that was held in the Nebraska Student Union on Oct. 31.

Speakers were Bob Smith of SNCC; Rev. Rudolph McNair, president of Omaha CORE; Hugh Shanks, former organizer of Kansas City CORE; Jim McCarty of Chicago SCLC; Dr. Patrick Wells of Lincoln NAACP; Clarence Major, a writer from Omaha; Ernest Chambers, an Omaha barber and local leader; Rev. Tom Rehorn, peace candidate for the U. S. Senate from Nebraska; Mike James of JOIN; and Greg Calvert, our national secretary.

Dr. Wells of the NAACP began by coming out strongly for "responsible leadership," "proper education" and "the American way of life." As well, he expressed fear that the "Black Power" slogan hosted to violence, looting and riots. After this bow to the old guard, the rest of the panel devoted itself to the reality of "Black Power." Mr. Major discussed white society's psychological paralyzing of the black man, whose halfway admission to our plastic wonderland is predicated upon his being properly ashamed of himself, his past and his culture. "I think when the black man establishes his independence in America the country will become truly beautiful for the first time," Mr. Shanks, in his report of the founding and history of Kansas City CORE from a local group of Negroes protesting the gerrymandering of their school district, gave the audience a microcosm of the reasons for the present split between the advocates of Black Power and the old line of the NAACP - Urban League. He revealed how the NAACP dropped their promised legal aid because of the group's participation in direct-action protest and how the Negro middle class there and elsewhere turned its back on the black man of the ghetto and his problems. He praised "Black Power" for giving him pride in selfhood and pointed out that its message was addressed neither to whites nor to those Negroes without feeling for their brothers. It is addressed to those poor Negroes who can no longer afford the luxury of continued faith in a system dedicated to their victimization. It offers them pride and the possibility of control over their own destiny.

a sympathetic white radical told to go home and do something about his own society, seeing as how that's where the bigots are. He argued the justice of that directive and hoped that whites would work to create a white radical movement that might join with the black movement to establish a decent society in America. Mike James, who is doing just that with the JOIN, discussed his work organizing southern poor whites in the Uptown ghetto of Chicago.

The program, attended by 900 people, hopefully led to a clearer understanding of the country's most serious internal problem. The Lincoln papers, one of whose reporters last summer argued that his paper's absurd position on "Black Power" and biased coverage of the Merideth March was all the fault of the A.P., gave not one line of advance notice of the teach-in; their coverage was distinguished by banality and by error. SNCC, notorious in folklore for its unfriendliness, aided us in every way possible. Bob Smith stayed over several days explaining in the dorms and in local churches what SNCC means by "Black Power" and why it felt the movement a necessary one. He even convinced the till then moribund Friends of SNCC chapter to try to re-establish itself.

Our concern with campus politics is organized around a student bill of rights and the Campus Freedom Democratic Party, begun last Spring by members Carl Davidson and Steve Abbott. While the party is not, strictly speaking, an SDS project, our chapter membership is working from within to make it a real vehicle for student power. At present, however, it is in difficulties: a sign of this was its recent change of name from CFDP to PACT because of Carl's paper on University Reform. Carl frightened some of the good folk. PACT does not, children, stand for the People's Action Committee for Terrorism, but rather stands for nothing.

The winds of change do seem to be stirring here for some reason, though, as was evidenced by the election of three SDS people to the Student Senate. One of those was our strikingly shaggy president, Al Spangler; another was our straight-arrow appearing vice-president Dennis Bartels. The third was an Irishman named Riley. The executive committee had proposed a rule that all Senators wear coat and tie to meetings, but changed its mind when it learned that the SDS faction would then propose that all Senators wear clean underwear as well. In line with our interest in student life, we plan to host a regional conference on university reform next semester.

Our final concern is internal education, and here we are just beginning because of



Jim McCarty gave more evidence of the black man's exploitation as he told of the community organizing in Chicago's Englewood, where attempts are being made to turn Negro homes into parking lots by white businessmen who take \$20,000,000 per year out of the community and give almost nothing in return. The Rev. McNair and Mr. Chambers detailed how local Omaha officials, with the aid of the Omaha newspaper, blew up a series of minor incidents last summer into a fake riot. Chambers, a brilliant speaker, revealed what it is to be a black man under "white justice" and promised to meet whites equally in friendship or in violence at their leisure and at their choice.

Bob Smith told of racism in the South, differing only in degree from that found in the North, and made plain that SNCC decided to go it alone with "Black Power" only after America made it plain to them that its pious advice class ideals were strictly for civics class, not for practice. Greg Calvert discussed "Black Power" from the point of view of

the former difficulty of getting material from the N.O. (We know you couldn't help it!) For the benefit of new members and some old ones, we are going through the Port Huron Statement, Part I, and looking forward to someday reading Part II. As well, we are planning to set up a seminar on Power in American Society, based on the REPA study, for the Nebraska Free University next semester.

Our last concern as a chapter has been to get me to write this damn thing. That damn thing being done, perhaps our chapter president and our sterling editor, Thane Croston, who still owes me \$17.00 from Mississippi, will now get off my back, allowing me to get down to the business of peacefully freezing to death in this god-awful Nebraska climate, which God could not have meant for the beasts of the field, much less a simple South Carolina boy from a small mill town, to live through. And that's how it is here.

Yours for love, flowers, and freedom,
Colin Chamberlee

PROPOSAL

The vision: Some specified day early in the month of May, after 4 months of organizing by SDS, the NCC, VDC, SNCC, CNVA, WSP, SANE (?), DuBois Clubs, and all other willing New Left and peace organizations, a total of 10,000 men all over the nation gather in small local groups at symbolic locations such as the flag poles of federal buildings or Army recruiting centers, and amidst supporting speeches by women (Women's Strike for Peace, etc.) and other sympathizers, burn their draft cards and refuse to be inducted.

Two questions present themselves. Is it possible or feasible? Would it be worth the effort required to bring it off?

Probably the only way 10,000 men (older men who have already served in the forces could burn their classification cards also) could be convinced to take such a drastic action would be to offer each man some reasonable assurance that he would be one of 10,000 men, and therefore, part of a politically significant act instead of just one individual out on a moral limb. Of course, the government could arrest everyone and this would have to be acknowledged by all participants. Each individual would have to judge for himself the chances of being arrested. There is, however, reason to believe that the government would think twice before arresting 10,000 political prisoners in an atmosphere of widespread anxiety about the Viet-nam war.

In order to assure each man that 9,999 others would join him, a central committee would have to spread the word, through the resources of all the participating organizations (mailing lists, newsletters, advertisements, etc.) that all men who would definitely burn their draft card if they were assured the total would be 10,000, should notify the central committee. The date (and other general directions such as the type of location) would be set right from the beginning. If, just prior to the specified date, the committee had received commitments from at least 10,000 men, the fact would be publicized so that all those who committed themselves would know that the word was GO! If less than 10,000 commitments were received, the exact number would be publicized and the moral commitment would of course be void; the program would have failed.

Advising anyone to break the Selective Service Act is, unfortunately, illegal; so the

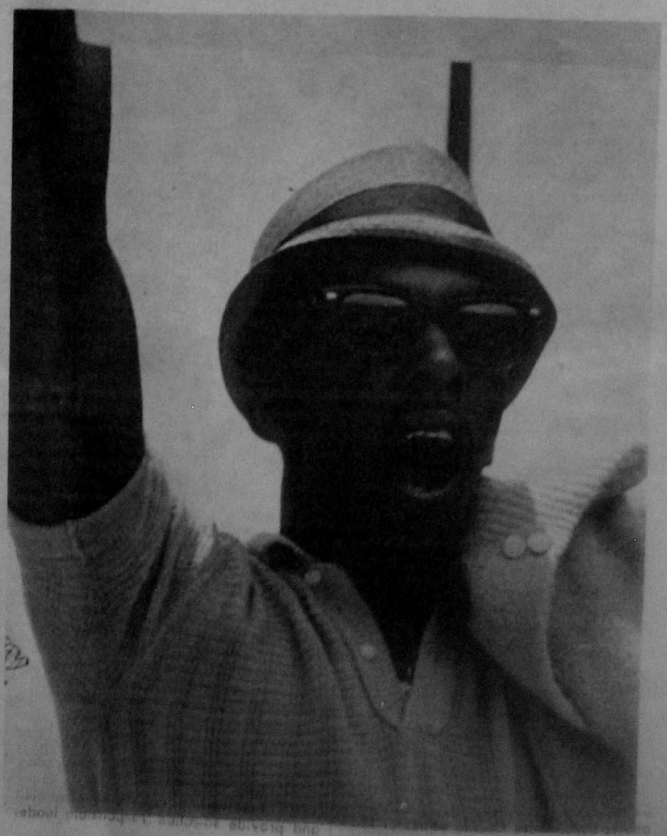
central committee would have to use careful language to try to avoid being busted immediately, and also make some sort of back-up plan in case they were arrested.

The number 10,000 is arbitrary. Careful thought would have to be given to the determination of the number actually used. It would have to be large enough to attract as many people as possible (i.e., if the number were one million, I'm sure just about everyone who was outraged at the war would consider committing himself. But there probably aren't a million such people yet, so the demonstration would fail). The number would also have to be small enough to give some reasonable chance of securing enough commitments. The number, therefore, is crucial. If a low number were chosen and enough commitments were secured early, then there is always the possibility that the program would snowball far beyond the original number. The combined, unduplicated, membership of all participating organizations would be a useful index to use in determining the number. Some statistics which might also be useful are: the total number of co-ed or male general and/or liberal arts education institutions in the U. S. as of 1965 was 1,494; the total number of male degree credit students in all educational institutions in the U. S. was, in 1965, 3,396 million, of which 2.87 million were in 4 year institutions and .523 million in 2 year junior colleges.

The desirability of even trying to organize a mass draft card burning is also questionable. I, personally, feel that it would severely disrupt the LBJ consensus, shock the nation - perhaps cause it to take the New Left position far more seriously, receive enormous publicity which would enable the views and arguments of the New Left to be heard in every home, and throw the anti-war movement into a higher gear.

I would very much like to hear your views concerning this proposal - if you think it would be worthwhile bringing the subject up at the next national SDS meeting, or for SDS officers to confer with the officers of other New Left and peace organizations, or to put feelers out in newsletters such as SDS's New Left Notes and seeing how favorably the local chapters react.

John Spritzler
Dartmouth SDS
302-A Cohen Hall
Hanover, N.H. 03755



SNCC NEWSLINE

ATLANTA, GA.

In an all-black ghetto of N. W. Atlanta, 3 courageous black women have spearheaded a picket line and boycott of the 'One Hour Martainizing' Laundry and Dry Cleaners located in the Great Savings Shopping Center on the corner of Ashby and Simpson. Annie Willis, Mattie Bell Jones, and Claudia Lee head, along with 5 other women, are former employees who began picketing the cleaners early Monday morning, Nov. 28th, and plan to continue until they are rehired and granted fair working conditions and wages. In an exclusive interview with members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the 3 ladies exposed a shocking story of sweatshop working conditions imposed upon them by the management which has resulted in cheap slave labor for the white managers. Mr. Cardell and Mr. Camp and for the white owners of the Martainizing Laundry chain. Their grievances include the following:

1. The 8 women were all fired within one month for arbitrary reasons simply because they had the courage to speak up to the managers and demand that he hear and discuss their problems.
2. One lady had to train an 18 year old white boy who later replaced her on the job.
3. The employees have to work from 8 to 12 hours a day, depending on the work load, 5 days a week, for \$36.00. They were seldom paid full salaries, the manager deducted arbitrary sums for social security without specifying the exact amount, and upon firing the 8 workers, he refused to give them full salary and vacation pay.
4. The managers generally mistreat the customers, curse them, and frequently mess up their clothing.

At 2:00 P.M. on Monday, the picketing ladies reported that their boycott was successful, that business had been drastically cut down, and the management is worried. Policemen constantly drove by, parked and surveyed the scene. The manager was seen shaking hands with one policeman, and then threatened to have the picketers arrested. The 8 ladies are determined to brave the cold weather, threats of arrest, and jail, until the following demands are met:

1. Re-employment at fair wages meeting the minimum wage law.
2. Back pay for all of the days they are out of work.
3. Better working conditions covering all of their grievances.

The Atlanta Project of SNCC has taken an active interest in the laundry boycott and has met with the ladies involved, we also issued the information given above as a press release which was given extensive coverage over WAOB of Atlanta.

LOWNDES COUNTY & GREENE COUNTY, ALABAMA

As a followup to the November 8th elections in Alabama, and as a result of black people voting in those elections for the first time in their lives, the white landowners are retaliating by evicting large masses of black farm workers from their land.

In Greene County, the Greene County Freedom Organization reports that there have been a series of evictions, resulting in 70 families being evicted from the land which has been their only home for years. Meetings and discussions are currently underway among black people there to decide on the necessary steps and remedies to deal with this problem.

In Lowndes County, several families have already been evicted from their homes and are now living in tents. Many more families expect eviction notices after the picking season is over. The Lowndes County Christian Movement in conjunction with the Lowndes County Freedom Party is now in the process of purchasing land and building houses for these people. The movement so far has 3 houses, has bought land for 2 families, and has begun construction on 2 houses which they hope to have finished within this week. Besides the evictions, there have been brutal attacks by Lowndes County whites on black

people who participated in the November 8th elections, one of the worst cases being the beating of Andrew Jones, who was hospitalized with a skull fracture for 3 days in Selma. The Lowndes County Freedom Party is moving in the direction whereby they can gain complete control over the county in the next 2 years, and are also moving to an economic position where they will be able to take care of people who work in the movement there. Present plans include raising money to buy enough land for the displaced and starting a Co-op which they hope will be operating in the near future.

A Federal Judge has ruled that the candidates of the Greene County Freedom Organization must be included on the ballots for the forthcoming elections for Sheriff and Tax Assessor; however a State Circuit Judge in Eufaula, Ala. is still attempting to fight this order and has issued an injunction demanding that County Probate Judge Herndon not put Gilmore's name on the ballot for sheriff. No date has been set for this special election, and there is confusion as to whether or not Gilmore's name will or will not appear on ballots. Two black lawyers, Alfys Wallace and Billingsley from Birmingham are handling the case.

ST. PETERSBURG, FLORIDA

A militant movement is developing and growing in St. Petersburg which promises to become a serious front in the common struggle of black people in this country. Leaders of the movement are Joe Waller and John Bryant of St. P. who have organized a dozen young militant blacks in that city, and who can call on 100 to 200 more to engage in direct action and other activities. The focal point of their activity had centered around the picketing and boycotting of the ABC liquor store chain in St. P. which began on November 8th and continued until last. Demands were met. Police intimidated demonstrators, picked them up on phony charges, followed any cars which they believed to be carrying persons connected with the picketing. At one point, a white man drew a pistol on the marchers and threatened to shoot, while a white policeman stood by and said 'I hope he uses it.' Similar incidents also occurred during the entire period of demonstrations. At the same time, the garbage collectors of St. P., who are 99% black, were on strike for better wages and working conditions. The city officials dealt with this problem by importing laborers from other areas to break the strike, and refused to deal with the grievances of the local garbage collectors. On Nov. 17th, SNCC sent a telegram in Stokely's name to the freedomfighters there, giving our moral support to their efforts in combatting discrimination in the ABC liquor stores and the just strike being waged by the black garbage collectors. That action resulted in the following situation:

1. Newspapers deliberately printed the lie that Stokely Carmichael would be in St. P. on Monday, Nov. 21st, and that CORE and SNCC organizers were already operating in the black community there.
2. The police department announced through the press that all policemen were on an emergency alert, that they had purchased NEW RIOT EQUIPMENT being flown in on a special chartered plane, and that they expected a riot to develop.

Apparently, the threats of Stokely and SNCC workers coming to St. P. shook up the entire power structure of St. P., because on Monday, Nov. 21st, both the garbage collectors strike and ABC liquor store boycott was settled to the satisfaction of the strikers and picketers. Joe Waller, John Bryant and the others who participated in the action are using their victory to build up momentum and further organize the black community in that city. They intend to form a SNCC affiliate, have set up an office, have mimeograph machines, and are now making plans for further action wherever it is necessary. They report that the black middle class is now organizing a group to counteract them and provide so-called responsible leader-

ship. The Atlanta SNCC office is in touch with Joe Waller and John Bryant, and intends to lend this group support when necessary.

GREENWOOD, MISSISSIPPI

In a special run-off election for Supervisor of Beat 3 on November 22nd, W. L. Kellum (white) defeated Rev. J. O. Collins (black). Prior to this, Rev. Collins had won the position by a slim margin in the Nov. 8th elections. The small victory margin was given as a reason for the run-off election.

DESO TO COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI

Ransome Moore reports from Haxbit concerning the trial of Oliver (white man who shot James Meredith) that he was found guilty, sentenced to 5 years, but they suspended 3 years, leaving a 2 year sentence. He is eligible for parole after 9 months. Six hand-picked Negroes sat on the Grand Jury, and all refused to speak with Ransome after the trial was over. James Meredith expressed satisfaction with the sentence.

ROANOKE RAPIDS, NORTH CAROLINA

Jan and Julianne Tyler, full time volunteer SNCC workers, are actively engaged in organizing the black community in Roanoke Rapids, and hope to eventually spread out through Halifax County and entire black belt in North Carolina. This area has been the scene of KKK activity and will probably be a rough area to break through. The Klan held a rally on Easter Sunday of 1966, and then again on Nov. 6, 1966. Whereas black people in the community reacted passively last Easter, the situation was quite different this November thanks to the hard work of the Tyler sisters. Along with Ray Dunlap, who was active in the Transville, Va. movement, they decided that something should be done this time; called a meeting of the community people, sent out press releases, canvassed the neighborhood, and finally they decided they would organize a picket line outside of the Klan rally. On Sunday afternoon, about 40 black people formed their line on the highway by the field where the rally was held. They were harassed and intimidated by state troopers and Klansmen, and finally threatened with arrests, but they decided to continue their picketing. At one point in the KKK rally, Grand Dragon Robert Jones told his audience they should go right down the highway and 'get some Niggers,' and 200 to 300 whites suddenly surged toward the highway in the direction of the black picket line, pointed guns in their faces, shook up handles, and let dogs loose. At this point, 24 of the picketers were arrested and roughly thrown into police cars. Charges were 'Walking on wrong side of road and disturbing the peace.' Bond was set at \$25.00 each, and most were out of jail the same afternoon.

In connection with this same situation, Jan and Julianne are working on the case of Robert Lee Vincent, who was accused of shooting 3 whites attending the KKK rally, and 2 were reportedly injured. Robert Lee is 25 years old, husband of Lena Marie Vincent and father of 3 children from 1 to 5 years of age. He and his wife were actively involved this past June with picketing and boycotting the school system of Roanoke Rapids. The police hunted for Robert Lee all day and night, and finally entered his house the next morning (Nov. 7) without a warrant, said they wanted to talk with him and then took him to jail. His wife has not been allowed to see him since that time. The same day, it was announced over radio that the 'alleged' shooter of the KKK man was being held in jail under \$1,500 bond. The black community in Roanoke Rapids has raised over \$400 for his defense fund and are currently organizing around this issue. Out of their most meetings has come the decision to start economic boycotts in the white business community and to start their own supermarkets. Robert Lee Vincent had a preliminary hearing on November 14, was formally charged with 'Assault with a deadly weapon and intent to kill 3 people.' He pleaded not guilty to all charges. Atty. C. I. Clayton of Warranton, N.C. Carolina is working on the case.

Jan and Julianne are also working on a rape case where a black youth has been accused of raping a white girl, Amy Clayton. He is also handling this case, which dates back to 1964 when Charles Parker was arrested at 15 years of age. He has been in jail for the past 2 years and is serving a life sentence. When arrested, he was held 30 days without anyone knowing where he was, beaten severely during this period, and finally signed a 'confession.'

23 young black men in Roanoke Rapids have formed a defense group and informed the Tyler girls and their fellow freedom fighters that they will provide protection for any future boycotts, picketing or 'movement' activity.

Halifax County has a population of 60,000, 55% black and 45% white. It is controlled by one family—the Branch family—who run the county as their personal property.

SEIMA, ALABAMA

Trials for Jimmy Lytle (SNCC worker) and Obaka (Thomas Taylor) were held on Tuesday, Nov. 22nd, stemming from charges made when they were arrested just prior to the Nov. 8th elections in that city. Don Jelinek, ICDC attorney, was not allowed to defend them, and everyone who attended the trial agreed that both defendants were able to defend themselves eloquently. Both were found guilty, fined, and are now free on appeal bond.

STARKVILLE, MISSISSIPPI

Roosevelt Vaughn, 35 year old full time SNCC volunteer, was shot at on the evening of November 22nd in that town. As he was walking toward his home, a car drove by and a man fired a shot at Roosevelt as he immediately turned and ran into a nearby woods, then finally managed to slip home. Rumors that his life was in danger began a few days prior to the shooting, and several black men in the community had informed Roosevelt that 3 white men (identified as Pete, Wallace, and Jimmy Rangel) were paying someone to kill him. In May of this year, Vaughn had printed and distributed a paper in Starkville, dealing with police brutality, and he has been active for some time in that area. Vaughn reports that several young black girls and boys have been severely beaten in jail after being recently arrested for civil rights activity there. A mass meeting was held on Thursday, Nov. 24th, and the community is now aroused and seeking ways and methods for them to unite, deal with their problems, and offer protection to Roosevelt Vaughn and others who may be subjected to similar harassment.

WEST POINT, MISSISSIPPI

John Buffington and the Coleman are handling the W.P. SNCC project and are making much progress in helping to organize the black community there. The project office is a clean, well kept spacious office with several books for the use of the entire area. The residents of that area are now in the process of running several Co-ops and organizing new ones. They built a new building (30x60 feet) which houses their own garment factory, and have a woodcraft co-op which is doing a booming business, particularly in African wood jewelry. There is also a Candle Co-op which makes and sells wax candles. One of their most successful operations is an insurance company which provides unemployment compensation to black factory workers when they are laid off or unemployed and has a Credit Union as part of the company. In connection with this company, the members also file discrimination in employment suits in cases where workers are arbitrarily fired or subjected to other forms of discrimination, and guarantees all contract laborers legal service.

In the near future, Buffington plans to open the 'Ebony Lounge,' a tavern and lounge which will be located in a shop corner building in the heart of the black community there. Buffington personally painted and decorated the lounge, and residents there are very enthusiastic about this venture.

(Continued on page 12)

America and the New Era

America and the New Era was prepared at the June, 1963 convention of Students for a Democratic Society.

INTRODUCTION

Our hope is human freedom. We care that men everywhere be able to understand, express and determine their lives in fraternity with one another. We seek to participate in the construction of a society in which men have, at least, the chance to make the decisions which shape their lives. Our quest is for a political and economic order in which power is used for the widest social benefit and a community in which men can come to know each other and themselves as human beings in the fullest sense.

Instead, the legacy of our generation has been the Cold War. Our lives have been shaped by the increasing tempo of militarization. Our hopes for the future have been corroded by the Bomb. Our reason has been blunted by Official Ideologies which served to increase consensus and inspire passive acquiescence rather than an active quest for freedom and fraternity.

In America, the Cold War has been a time in which all values have been subordinated to the "long twilight struggle" against communism, all goals made secondary to the "national security," a time when the human qualities of men were less valued than their loyalty to the state, and pressing social problems and political issues were universally avoided in the interest of national unity. It was, above all, a time when most Americans, not least of all our leadership, believed that the American Century was at hand - that our potentiality for international political, economic and perpetually guaranteed.

Such national irrationality was compatible with a world in which American industrial and nuclear power remained unchallenged.

But it is now clear that a new era is upon us, and the simple categories and grand designs of the Cold War no longer serve.

A massive technological revolution is transforming the nature of war and making obsolete the established mechanisms of the economy.

A world wide social revolution is destroying the bases of established power and transforming the nature of human expectations.

The question for Americans today is: How are we to respond to the new era?

American leaders are presently engaged in a politics of adjustment, affecting the conduct of government, industry, the military and all other social institutions. This politics represents an attempt to manage social conflict and adjust in minimal ways to the forces loose in the world. But for those who seek new models of life based on commitments to human dignity, democracy and peace, these attempts to stabilize existing power arrangements and traditional institutions present grim images of the future.

But one lesson of the new era is that men of established power are not the only ones capable of shaping the future.

Each day provides fresh evidence that ordinary people do, in fact, make history. Inspired by this fact, we need to ask: What is the nature of the new era? What are the potentialities of the future? What now are our possibilities as political and cultural actors?

THE ERA OF THE COLD WAR

From the end of World War II until the close of the Eisenhower Administration, the conception of an American Century seemed to be supported by reality. Enormous pent-up demands for consumer goods, a huge reserve of capital savings, and the added stimulation of defense expenditures resulted in an unprecedented expansion of the American economy. Immensely and increasingly rich, and faced with a world in chaos, it is not surprising that America moved quickly to assert its power and influence in every part of the world. American power was able to dominate Western Europe, to control events in the Middle East and Latin America, to stabilize politics in many parts of Asia.

For a generation, the single great challenge to American influence remained the Soviet Union and the closed, seemingly irreconcilable conflict between the two blocs created a world in which virtually every human value was distorted, all moral standards seemed weirdly irrelevant, all hopes and aspirations appeared utopian. For the Cold War resulted in an arms race in which enormous resources and human energy were squandered and preparations for the murder of innocent millions became basic policy, while the elemental needs of these millions remained unsatisfied. It produced societies in which the requirements of huge military, industrial and political bureaucracies took precedence over all other social or individual priorities. It poisoned and corroded all aspects of intellectual activity. To it were sacrificed the right to dissent, political engagement and controversy. And its final outcome was a balance of terror so precarious and so infinitely dangerous that, in the end, all interests and all security were in jeopardy.

It is now clear that in the midst of the Cold War forces were being generated which were incompatible with the international system just described. Now, in 1963, these forces are verging and bringing into being a new world, whose shape and structure is surprisingly different from the one in which we have grown up.

At least four new trends are bringing to an end the Cold War Era:

1. The emergence of the New Europe: Europe has rebuilt its pre-war power, in large part as a result of American economic assistance. Now Western Europe increasingly and successfully competes with American enterprise. The Common Market generates an expansive, supranational corporate power, and the vision of independent political, military and economic hegemony inspires movements. The Grand Design, for a "civilizing" united, Americanized West, has never left the drawing boards.

2. The emergence of the Third World: The increasing pace of social revolution has created some fifty nations now more or less independent of the Cold War power blocs. The needs of these people are incompatible with the Cold War and its diversion of resources to destructive rather than productive ends. Moreover, the continuing revolutionary upsurge in the Third World constitutes an extreme danger to Western investment and exploitative trade arrangements in these areas.

3. The disruption of the international communist movement: Revolutionary upsurge and technological advance have destroyed the monolithic nature of the Soviet bloc as well as disrupting the structure of the West. The emergence of China as a great power, claiming to speak for revolutionary movements in Asia, Latin America, and Africa, challenges the Soviets' ability to manipulate revolutionary movements in their own interest. Meanwhile, Eastern European governments and some Western Communist Parties attempt to break loose from the economic, intellectual and political strait jackets in which they have been imprisoned by the Soviet hegemony, while ferment threatens the stability of entrenched bureaucracy.

4. The obsolescence of nuclear weapons: The concept of nuclear "deterrence" seemed effective in a bi-polar world, in which conflicts could be managed by calculating and self-interested elites. But it has become clear that nuclear weapons cannot effectively deter popular upsurge and forestall revolution. It has also become increasingly clear that Western interests are endangered less by war in Europe than by anti-Western movements, revolutionary uprisings and guerrilla struggles in Latin America, Asia and Africa. In fact, the existence of nuclear weapons appears to have rendered the United States virtually impotent to effectively cope with such situations; for example, America's inability to destroy the Castro revolution, or to suppress the Viet Cong in Vietnam. Moreover, prospective proliferation of nuclear weapons will end the uneasy stability of the present, making obsolete our conception of the arms race as a bi-polar game. These, and many other factors, are forcing a deep re-examination of the usefulness of the nuclear arms race as a basic military strategy in both the West and the East, and producing new impulses toward arms controls and tension reduction.

These four trends have now converged, and each day's newspaper brings fresh sur-

prises to those still trapped by the clichés of the Cold War era.

If there is a way to define the new world into which we have come, it is to say that no existing mode of thought, nor entrenched institution will remain unchallenged.

AMERICA AND THE NEW ERA

Just as technological and social revolution have shattered the international system developed during the Cold War era, so too, have these forces undermined America's post-war economic prosperity and are beginning to disrupt the political and social arrangements which accompanied that prosperity.

The technological revolution occurring in the post-war period created a new type of automated production, one critical economic of which is the shrinkage of the industrial labor force. Automation has sharply reduced the demand for employment mass production industries, agriculture and many trade and service enterprises. During the fifties, for example, manufacturers were able to increase productive output by seventy per cent, with no increase whatever in the number of manufacturing workers.

Just when the need for workers was being reduced, a radical increase in the number of people needing jobs was taking place, due to the coming of age of millions of young people born during the war-time baby boom.

Thus advancing technology and an exploding population create an enormous employment problem. One measure of the problem is the fact that just to keep employment at its present rate, the Federal Government estimates, 75,000 new jobs must be created each week in order to absorb those who are in search of employment. The present rate of new job openings is 6,000 per week.

But it has now become evident that certain central features of our economy operate directly to exacerbate the growing problems of stagnation and unemployment:

1. *Poverty and the maldistribution of income:* Despite the post-war boom, the impoverished fifth of the population still find themselves trapped in the same relative income position they held before World War II. One out of nine Americans is presently living below the level of subsistence as defined by the Department of Labor - that is, they are members of families with income below \$50 a week. More broadly, 70 million Americans are living below officially defined minimum standards of decency - with incomes of less than \$100 a week for families of four. These figures signify, in human terms, the fact that a vast portion of our population continues to exist in conditions of misery and hopelessness.

2. *The Arms race and the maldistribution of resources:* The defense establishment has been celebrated as a major stimulant to the economy. It is now apparent, however, that \$60 billion military budget, and the "permanent war economy" it represents, accelerates and makes more acute the worst trends in our economic system. One essential problem of the defense economy is that the new weapons systems put fewer and fewer men to work in the crucial centers of US industry. In the pre-missile age, the production of tanks, jeeps, guns, and bombers employed, directly and indirectly, vast numbers of skilled and semi-skilled workers. Today, our defense "requirements" have radically shifted, and the new technology of war, depending on the production of a limited number of missiles and electronic systems, employs many advanced technicians, but relatively few ordinary production workers. Further, two-thirds of American scientists and engineers are involved in defense operations - depriving the rest of the economy of their modernizing and inventive skills. Those "gifts" that have come from defense research have come in spite of their purpose. It is clear that had technology been allocated directly to more socially useful and more employment-producing purposes, the results would have been more valuable.

In addition to all this, the defense economy has contributed significantly to the American social stagnation. About half of the investment in defense has come from the curtailment of social services and the diversion of resources from the public sector of the economy. While this country invested fantastic sums in the production of wasteful and destructive hardware, and now promises to spend billions more for this purpose, its cities continue to decline into squalor, millions continue to live in sub-standard housing, the education system fails to educate, fresh water and fresh air become increasingly rare, crime rates soar, urban traffic becomes intolerable, and a complex of other social needs remain unmet.

Thus, the extraordinary emphasis on "defense" and the profound neglect of our social needs has meant specific and severe deprivation for each individual, as well as contributing to the general crisis of our economy.

3. *Oligopoly and the maldistribution of power:* The post-war period has seen a major increase in the tendency for American economic power to be concentrated in a number of giant corporations. Oligopolistic control of major American industries is both a cause and a consequence of technological advance. It is, however, generally unrecognized that this increasing concentration of power has also contributed greatly to the crisis of the economy. Some consequences of this control include:

Administered prices have become common and optimal in corporate relations. As concentration of corporate power increases, competitive pressures within industries decrease, and corporations are able to set and hold their prices in order to maintain desired profit levels. The maintenance of high profit rates, while successfully thwarting the inflationary push, has retarded industrial growth, and thus full employment.

The corporate attempt to maintain profits is the major factor in accelerating automation. Since automation presently serves as a mechanism for the maintenance of private gain, and since its uses are controlled by a private few, its primary visible impact has been to destroy jobs, and perpetuate and exacerbate inequality.

Concentration of corporate power has enhanced the political influence of corporate elites. These elites promulgate policies which, while serving narrow corporate interests, are profoundly anti-social in their effect. Immensely wasteful and dangerous defense programs are pursued because of the pressures of military based corporations. Huge depreciation allowances and other prerogatives which distort the tax system are granted the lobbyist.

"Giveaways" of publicly owned resources are achieved, consumer-favoring legislation is blocked and the development of the public sector is hamstringed by the effective exercise of corporate power. And as the institutions of democracy are thus corrupted by private power, so also is the economic vitality of the nation steadily sapped.

These then are some of the dimensions of an American economic crisis: the crisis is revealed by widespread, chronic and growing unemployment, by continuing poverty and public squalor. The crisis is due to the fact that the "engine" of progress - technological advance - when part of a conservative economic system which cannot plan for the total social good - has become a monster rather than a promise of plenty.

It is important to note that, while America continues to ride on a surface of visible prosperity, the economic crisis has been most directly manifest for two groups in the society - young people and Negroes.

America's youth, because of their increased numbers and because of an educational system and a culture which seems incapable of preparing young people for productive roles in the context of the new technology, are increasingly unemployed. Among these members of the labor force aged 14-23, one of seven is out of work (compared with one out of thirteen for the labor force as a whole). This jobless rate is especially acute for high school dropouts; increasingly, however, even high school and college graduates will feel the effects of automation. One estimate suggests that seven million young peo-

(continued on page 12)

The Crack

for Carl Ogelsby
and the New Left

I
The buckskin bridge
Dangles in ruin;
Fur coats dig a moat
Under the pacific gate

In which they trim
Apple groves
Suburbs
Satellites

Exploring still further west
The surface of the world.

They float downstream
On banana leaves,
Drinking martinis.

II

Beneath the volcano
We grew inside
A Howl.

Was it Coyote
Spreading incense
And double edged knives

Who dug the stair
Down

And turned our plows
Back and in

Along the center-crack
Of the road?

III

You tried living in the egg:

Bought a wife
To walk naked

Through the brown
Refrigerator and stove

And two cars
On whitewall tires

And steaks on the barbecue.

You chained your arm
To the labor bed

While white caps and gowns
Towed your body
Along tiles.

You can't be a part of your birth.
You can't feel the first breath.

IV

Howl
From so deep
The shell cracks

And you wander roads
Of coastal rock

Watching tide smash
Through thunderheads.

No house

Rags for your wife and child

You eat crabs and kelp
Smoke grass

Staring for the eye
— Mather of the universe

And a warm place
Between her teats.

Snowflakes from the highway
Overhead
Freeze your sandals.

The door of a trance
Won't let you out.

V

The tar machine is coming.

Find other bones wandering
Barefoot.

There must be a path
From this pit
Into snow peaks.

Link arms
Place each stone
One above the other

Begin the climb
From the crack

Through long corridors
Of senates
And councils:

Coyote does not rule.

We march among clubs
Helmets tear gas

Singing as we rise
Into the gears.

There is a grinding
Of voices.

There are torches
Beside graves.

Before us
All across the country
The road rolls back

And we emerge
In the cement chambers
Of ears.

VI

Tonight there is a fire
In your mouth.

You see our hearts
Through moonlight.

All the animals
Step out of their shells
Of hair

And dance to voices
Newly discovered.

We have pricked America.
We have filled brutes
With tears.

By Harry MacCormick

BERKELEY STUDENT POWER



"Time of the Locust"

A 15-minute documentary film Produced and edited by Peter Gessner.

In cooperation with the American Friends Service Committee and the Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy.

"Time of the Locust" is the culmination of a nine-month search for and integration of film materials on the war not widely seen in this country. The film draws upon American newsfilm, the voices of participants and officials, combat footage of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, and unreleased material filmed by Japanese television camera units. The film is an attempt to present the various faces of the war, and to bring to the surface some of the implications of the use of American power.

The S.D.S. national office now has available 5 prints, copies, of "Time of the Locust" at \$7.50 each for two (2) weeks for chapters and other interested groups.

Write:

S.D.S. Film Library
c/o Students for a Democratic Society
Room 205
1608 W. Madison
Chicago, Ill. 60612

(Continued from page 7)

Unrepresented Peoples in Washington, D.C., August, 1965), obviously if we must commit c. d., if the escalations do occur, the whole project failed.

Why

The important part of the anti-escalation project, and this cannot be emphasized too strongly, is not civil disobedience but the publicity campaign to make escalation a visible and controversial issue. Recently, the CNVA farm in Voluntown, Conn., was a target for an alleged attack by a right wing group called the Minutemen. Well, we want to be minutemen of another kind and like Paul Revere, "spread the alarm through every Middlesex village and farm" about the escalations that Lyndon Johnson has up his sleeve. We want to create a domestic uproar in the press, the Congress, and in the streets, people telling their leaders, "NO, this is our country, our war, and enough is enough!" We want to make escalation THE issue and prevent Johnson from slipping another atrocity past the American people without them knowing what the hell happened.

Tactics

In New York City, we are going to hold a press conference to announce that if the stated escalations take place, hundreds of us are ready to hit the streets for civil disobedience. We hope to have enough pledges on hand to boast that this will be the most massive c. d. demonstration the U.

S. has ever seen. But this is only the beginning. If funds are available, we will state our intentions in newspaper advertisements and as our numbers grow we will hold additional press conferences. People in other areas should take up the call as indeed, many have. Write letters to the editor, your Congressmen and Senators, even the President. Make escalation visible. Advertise, agitate, demonstrate. Make escalation an issue.

Peace groups in other cities and countries are urged to plan anti-escalation projects of their own to make the furor over escalation a nationwide and world-wide concern. And remember, this is one demonstration that succeeds only if it doesn't come off. So emphasize the first part, the publicity campaign, most of all.

by MARTIN JEZER, a sponsor of the anti-escalation project, a member of the N. Y. Workshop in Nonviolence and an editor of CNVA's publication WIN Peace and Freedom Through Nonviolent Action.

VOTE!

DECEMBER N.C.

Work began on the December Conference several weeks ago and the plans for the conference have now solidified to the point that the overlying theme and the majority of the workshops are fairly well set. The conference will be held from December 27 through the 31st on the Berkeley campus. Most of the housing will be arranged in private homes and any overflow will be housed in co-operatives. The fee for the conference will be \$15. This will not cover food. There is no official title for the conference as of yet, but it will deal with the campus, students and social change. The 27th and 28th will be the National Council meetings. The following three days will consist of workshops on the following topics:

1. THE CAMPUS AS ECONOMIC ENTITY

The corporate function of the university, its interlocking directorate with other corporations, the issue of governmental and private contracts. The organizing of student employees, teacher's unions, etc.

2. THE CAMPUS AS COMMUNITY

Student government and campus parties. Human relations and power relations within the school community and the relation of the campus to the non-student environs. Student and underground newspapers.

3. THE CAMPUS AS INSTITUTION

The role of the educational system in corporate society, its penetration by the military-industrial complex, and the effect of campus social change on other institutions. The Peace Corps on campus.

4. CAMPUS AS POLITICAL FORCE

Student participation in electoral politics. (i.e. the Scheer campaign, the Black Power Conference, etc.). The 18-year-old vote.

5. THE CAMPUS AND THE DRAFT

Campus organizing against conscription, protest against college and university complexity in conscription, the issue of its deferment, the non-student draftee; Negro troops and ghetto youth.

6. CAMPUS ORGANIZATION VS. ORGANIZATION

The effect of mobilizing students for reform demands as opposed to long-term organizing demands as opposed to long-term organizing for student control.

7. THE CAMPUS AND EDUCATIONAL REFORM

Evaluation of the Experimental College and San Francisco State College. The relation of the free university to the campus. The issue of careers.

8. JUNIOR COLLEGES

Academic reform peculiarities. Organizing working class youth. Peculiar in-loco-parentis problems.

9. THE HIGH SCHOOL CAMPUS

The in-loco-parentis issue, the young hippie revolt, anti-draft activities, the rights of young people, the difficulties of organizing.

10. THE STUDENTS AS ORGANIZERS

Students in the South, in poor white communities, in labor unions, in high schools, etc.

11. STUDENTS AS A SOCIAL CLASS

The gulf between students and the working class. Students as the catalyst for social change.

12. STUDENT SYNDICALISM

The organization of student federations (national and international) for academic revolution (an end to grades, etc.).

13. COMPOSITION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Relationship of the corporations, political machines, labor bureaucracy and rank and file, middle class liberals, blacks and the poor, middle class liberals, blacks and the poor in the political party.

14. HISTORY OF THIRD PARTIES

Reasons for the collapse of such parties in the past.

15. ORGANIZING POOR WHITES

Time will also be set aside for workshops by the Radical Education Project. If you have ideas for more workshops, please let the Regional Office know. Please also send working papers on the above topics to the office. We will try to get as many as we can published before the conference so that people can begin to discuss them.

SNCC NEWSLINE

(Continued from page 9)

PINE BLUFF, ARKANSAS

Vince O'Connor reported that there were a couple of vote fraud cases in the Nov. 8th elections in Gould, Ark. The election was stolen from Mrs. Carrie Dilworth, a black

NATIONAL COUNCIL DELEGATES

SDS Constitution, Article VI, Section 1:

"The National Council shall be composed of one (1) representative elected from each chapter with five to twenty-five members and chapter with five to twenty-five members and one additional representative for each additional twenty-five members or fraction thereof, in that chapter..."

There will be a credentials committee. All chapters should notify the National Office (1608 W. Madison, Rm. 206, Chicago, Ill. 60612) of the names of their delegates and their number of members immediately.

Accommodations will be arranged by the Berkeley chapter. Members attending should bring their own bedding (sleeping bags or bedroll) and grocery money. On arriving in Berkeley, call either Kris Dymond (415/841-5164) or the San Francisco regional office (415/362-7922) for further directions. Preference in private rooms (of which there will be very few) will be given to married couples. The rest of us will take our chances with floors, couches, spare mattresses, etc.

No NC delegates will be seated unless the national office has been notified in writing of their election by 23 December at the latest.

Detach this section and return to SDS, 1608 W. Madison, Rm. 206, Chicago, Ill. 60612.

The.....chapter is entitled to.....delegate(s) to the National Council meeting. (If you disagree with our figure, send a list of national members to the NC, along with the names of your delegates. Our delegates to the December National Council meeting will be:

Alternates will be:

(signed).....
Chapter chairman or secretary

Detach this section and send to Berkeley SDS, P.O. Box 1177, Berkeley, Calif., 94701

.....members of the.....chapter will attend the December NC meeting and membership conference. Of this number, are married couples and are children. All will bring their own bedding and grocery money. We will arrive on and leave on (If this box () has a check in it, we have indicated on a separate sheet our various schedules.)

People driving who have room for or need riders should contact the nearest regional office of the N.O.

.....woman running for Mayor of Gould. One precinct didn't even turn in their votes, and others simply said that there were no votes for Mrs. Dilworth although Vince knows that there were definitely votes for her in these precincts.

In Wabaska, Ark., Vince and other freedom workers are writing letters to John Doar of the Justice Dept. as a result of the reported defeat of a black man running for city council. In that town, white people from outside of the town voted, there were segregated voting lines, and other irregularities were reported. The people will probably contest the election and are now in the process of lining people up to testify. There were no black people on the polls as clerks or judges outside of Pine Bluff, and there were only a few allowed in the all-black precincts.

In the State of Arkansas, from 80 to 90% of the eligible blacks turned out to vote, and 95% of the black vote went to Rockefeller.

In the ASCS Election on November 18th, 4 black men were elected to positions in Jefferson County. This is the first time in history that an Arkansas ASCS Committee has had more black members than white.

AMERICA AND THE NEW ERA

(continued from page 10)

ple will be unemployed by 1970. Our society is rearing a generation which will have literally no function. It is not hard to imagine the costs in personal dignity and social harmony which this neglect will bring.

While white America, at this writing, enjoys a mild upsurge in economic fortunes, Negro America is experiencing a prolonged and severe economic depression. Automation is eliminating the few unskilled and semi-skilled job categories which are accessible to Negroes in a discriminatory society. As a consequence the proportion of Negroes without jobs is today two to three times higher than white unemployment rates. It is important to realize that the present gap between Negro and white opportunity is wider and deeper than ever before in this country.

AMERICAN RESPONSES TO THE NEW ERA

We have described a variety of trends, long accumulating in effect which have now converged - each interacting with the others - their combined impact has been the shattering of established systems and power structures, of people's expectations, of the plans and designs of leaders, and of the hopes and aspirations of ordinary men and women.

It is now necessary to examine the responses which are being made to this emerging new era by various groups within our society. In this way we hope to achieve a clearer definition of the present political scene, so that guidelines for a democratic political strategy can be proposed.

The American political spectrum includes five main groupings: The "traditionalist Right", the "Establishment", the labor movement and organized liberalism, Negroes and the civil rights movement and the new insurgents. These groupings do not fit conventional categories based on party, but they do seem to reflect divergent bases of power, styles of political action, political ideology and political program:

THE RESPONSE OF THE "TRADITIONALIST RIGHT":

Today, as in the past, a variety of interests and groups in the United States coalesce around a right-wing ideology and political program. This right-wing coalition now includes various business interests, certain sectors of the military establishment, Southern racists and their political representatives, and large portions of the small town and suburban middle classes. The ideology of the right ranges from "ultra" to "conservative" but its essence is resistance to policies and programs which threaten the power of these groups. The program of the right includes the weakening of social service programs, organized labor and the Federal Government; they favor tax programs which favor business and property-holding classes, protection of the power of the Southern power structure, and a "victory" posture in the Cold War which would bolster the sagging fortunes of the Air Force and the Democratic Party once again with the odor of "softness to communism."

Presently, the institutional power of the right rests almost entirely in Congress, where ideological conservatives can count on the voting support of men who are blinded to general social interests by their day-to-day obsession with the politics of local gains. Congressional leadership rests largely in the hands of a right-wing oligarchy composed of Republicans and Southern Democrats, who by virtue of the fact that they come from single party districts, enjoy the committee privileges that come with long terms in office. This Congress, led by men who represent the most backward regions of the country, structured by an archaic system of rules, has effectively blocked attempts to cope with domestic and international crises. Its response to the new era has been "business as usual" at home, and nationalistic belligerence to the rest of the world.

In addition to Congress, the right is extremely powerful in state and local government, in the South and West, and, in view of the decentralized power system which dominates American politics, this is significant. Conservative and reactionary politics is very well organized, and has adapted successfully to the political system. Currently John Birchism is applying the lessons learned from the successful politicians of the right by concentrating on local issues, gaining power in school boards and state assemblies.

THE RESPONSE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT:

By the "Establishment" we mean those men who have direct influence over the formulation of national domestic and foreign policies. These include the President and his advisors, and major officials of the executive branch of the government, but the Establishment extends into private centers of power as well - many corporate leaders, foundation officials, some labor leaders, and some leaders of the Republican Party are decisive figures in the formulation of one or another aspect of policy. It is the function of any Establishment to formulate policy in such a way that the going system can be preserved and existing power arrangements can be maintained. As the Eisenhower Administration drew to a close, it became evident that these responsibilities were not being effectively met. That Administration, responding primarily to particular corporate and military interests, was plainly failing to cope with the colonial revolution, with the New Europe, and domestic economic and social need.

(CONTINUED NEXT WEEK)

NEW LEFT NOTES

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1608 W. Madison
Chicago, Ill. 60612
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Bruce Pech
8 Hingham St.
Cambridge, Mass.